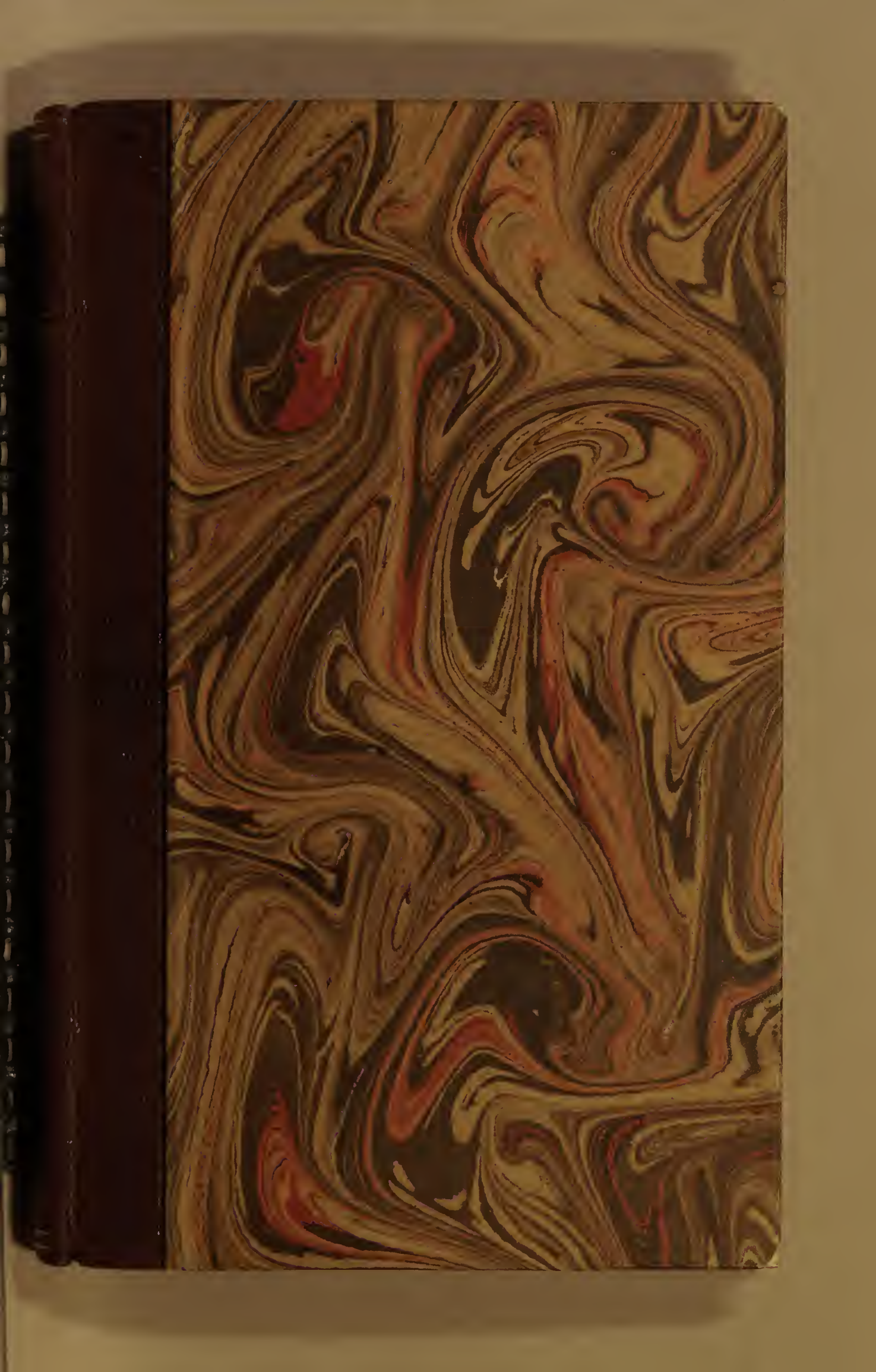

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THE TRAVELLER.

PART I.

CONTAINING,

A JOURNAL of Three Thouſand Three Hundred Miles, through the Main Land of *SOUTH-AMERICA.*

By Mr. THOMAS GAGE, *an Engliſhman; and a Miſſionary Friar in* New-Spain, *twelve Years.*

In which is ſet forth,

His Journey from *St. John de Ulva* to *Mexico*, with a Deſcription of that great City as in former Times, and at preſent; as alſo his Travels through many other Parts of *New-Spain*; with an Account of their Government, Caſtles, Ports, and Commodities; as alſo their eccleſiaſtical State, in which the laſcivious Intrigues, and wicked Lives of the Jeſuits and Friars in thoſe Parts, and their grand Impoſitions upon the poor ignorant Natives, are truly delineated.

To which is added,

The Policy, Manners, Behaviour, Arts and Sciences, religious Rites and Ceremonies, Feaſts and Solemnities of the native *Indians*.

Concluding with

The wonderful Converſion of the Author to the Proteſtant Religion; his Eſcape from the *Spaniards*, in *South-America*; his Return to *England*, his native Country; and the Reception he met with there by his Relations, after an Abſence of four-and-twenty Years.

To be publiſhed Monthly in the NEW AMERICAN MAGAZINE.

Woodbridge, *in* New-Jerſey:
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INTRODUCTION.

THAT our undertaking may answer the design of a MAGAZINE, it ought to be judiciously supply'd with such different pieces of polite literature, as may be the most edifying, as well as entertaining and diverting to our readers; and therefore we have thought proper to alter the first part of our plan thus far, that the first and second half-sheets of each number, shall contain *The history of the northern continent of America*; and the third half-sheet, under the title of *The Traveller*, shall be reserved for a collection of the most curious and authentic voyages and travels by sea and land, which have been published in any age. And we shall first begin with the voyages and travels of Mr. THOMAS GAGE, to the Spanish West-Indies, and thro' the main continent of *South-America*. This gentleman was a branch of the noble Family of the GAGE's in *England*, and his father being a strenuous Roman-catholick, sent his son, whilst very young, to be educated in a convent of Dominicans at *Xeres* in *Spain*: This young gentleman had a strong opposition to some of the chief tenets of the church of Rome, and his father insisting upon his entring into the order of jesuits, which (having been educated a dominican friar) he mortally hated, he was continually premeditating his escape from the convent, and return to *England*; but finding it impracticable, being strictly watch'd by order of his father, he resolved to enter himself a missionary friar to *Spanish America*, in which service he remained twelve years, travelling three thousand three hundred miles within the main land of *America*. His history (wrote by himself, and which bore four editions in the last century, being now out of print) gives the truest and most particular account of the southern continent of *America*, of any that ever was published either by the Spaniards or others; for as the author was himself a Roman-catholick missionary, and the duty of his office was the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, he must of necessity travel amongst them, and therefore had (as he himself observes) the fairest opportunity, by viewing the records of those times, as well as by oral tradition, of giving the best and most authentick account of those wonderful people the ancient *Mexicans*, and of their government, manners, laws and customs, arts and sciences, trade and manufactures. Neither could he be a stranger to the intrigues, manners and behaviour of his fellow-missionaries, the jesuits and friars, of which he gives a peculiar definition, with diverting and curious comments. As this history therefore contains many surprizing particulars not mentioned by any other authors, and may be of use in forming a comparison of the different dispositions of the Northern and Southern natives of *America* in their natural capacities, we conceive it will be edifying as well as entertaining to our readers, who by this method will be furnish'd with a complete History of both the Southern and Northern Continent of *AMERICA*.

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THE TRAVELLER.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

An Account of the Author, Mr. THOMAS GAGE; *his Education in a Convent at* Xeres *in* Spain; *and of his entering himself a Missionary Friar to the* Philippine *Islands: The Method of procuring and sending Missions to the* East *and* West-Indies; *and an Account of the Missions sent thither in the Year* 1625.

DIVINE providence hath hitherto so ordered my life, that for the greatest part thereof I have lived (as it were) in exile from my native country. My education in the Romish religion, and in foreign universities; and my entering early into monastical orders, have chiefly contributed to this melancholy state of life: Twelve years of which have been wholly disposed of in that part of *America* called *New-Spain*, and the places adjacent. The great mercies I have received by divine providence, in my voyages and travels, have induced me to conceive, that I ought not to hide my talent in the earth, or conceal my light under a bushel, but that I should impart to the publick, the observations I made in this new-discovered world, and what I know to be true. To my countrymen of *England*, therefore I dedicate my history, desiring their kind acceptance of this plain and faithful relation, in which I will offer nothing but what shall arise from my own particular observations.

The policy of *Rome* hath blinded and deceived many of the *European* kingdoms; and is now endeavouring with great earnestness and indefatigable industry to play the same game in *Asia* and *America*. Is it not admirable, that at this day, in *America* only, the Pope's authority and power is extended to as many countries as all *Europe* contains, wherein no religion, but a blind obedience and submission to the see of *Rome*, is admitted of! the king of *Spain* glorying, that he hath received far greater power from the Pope over those kingdoms than any other princes of *Europe* have enjoyed from him. For since the first conquest of *America* by the *Spaniards*, the Pope, with a politick view, hath granted the *West-India* islands, and the southern continent of *America*, by a special title, to the kings of *Spain*, stiling them, *El Patrimonio Real*, The Royal Patrimony, tho' with this special service annexed, that his catholick majesty shall maintain and support the preaching of the gospel there by friars, priests, and jesuits, with all those erroneous doctrines which tend to the advancement of the Pope's glory and authority.

Policy having thus opened the way for his holiness's advancing his interest in these *American* parts, and the whole charge thereof being laid upon the crown of *Spain*, by the tempting bait of the honour of a royal patrimony, with power over the clergy in *New-Spain*, the Pope annually

charges

charges the king of *Spain* with troops of jesuits and friars to be convey'd thither; and instead of antient discreet men, they send young volunteers, friars, mendicants, priests, and monks, who are obliged to continue upon this mission ten years, the whole to be maintained by the king of *Spain*; and of these there are many thousands at this day, preaching about in the *Spanish* dominions in *America*.

As all the kingdoms of *South-America*, which have been conquered by the *Spaniards*, are divided into temporal governments, so there are likewise several spiritual jurisdictions amongst them, under the name of provinces, belonging to divers religious orders and their provincials. These live in dependency and subordination to the court of *Rome*, and are obliged to send thither a strict account and relation of their successes in the ministry, as also the most remarkable passages which happen amongst them. In *South-America* there are the following provinces, *viz. Mexico*, *Mechoacan*, *Guaxaca*, *Chiapa*, *Guatemala*, *Camayagua*, *Nicaragua*, *&c.* Each of these provinces hath a head named the Provincial, chosen every three years at a provincial chapter; at which chapter, by the consent of all that meet, they name a Procurator or Diffinitor. These procurators are to attend the general chapter in *Europe*, held in *Italy*, *France* or *Spain*, where they are to give an account of the state of the province from which they are sent, to ask such favours as that province may stand in need of, and to desire a number of young priests to succeed the old ones whose time of service may be expired. These credentials being read in the general chapter, letters patent are then granted to the Procurator from the general or president of the chapter, constituting him his vicar-general for such a province, setting forth the great pains he hath taken in the new-planted *Indian* church, and his great capacity and ability of conducting a mission to those parts, of such clergymen who shall offer themselves for the propagation of christianity amongst the Heathens. The Procurator then goes to *Rome*, and presents his letters patent (together with a present of a small wedge of gold, a box of pearls, some rubies or diamonds, a chest of cochineal, some boxes of chocolate, and some curious feather-works of *Mechoacan*) to the Pope; who thereupon grants him a bull, decreeing him the pope's commissary; and thus this mendicant friar is enabled to enter all the cloisters of his profession in *Spain*, to pick up young preachers, who, for their better encouragement, upon entering themselves missionaries, are, by his holiness's authority, absolved from all their past sins, and from the purgatory, due unto them, by a plenary indulgence: And whosoever shall oppose, or any ways discourage the Pope's commissary in the prosecution of this mission, are *ipso facto* excommunicated. You could not forbear smiling to see how the young birds, encaged within the walls of a cloister, will leap and cherish themselves with the hopes of liberty upon the arrival of this commissary; and how some disorderly friars, who have been imprisoned for scaling their cloister walls by night in pursuit of harlots, will rejoice at the thoughts of plenary indulgence, freeing them from sins past, and fitting them for the conversion of souls. 'Tis true, I have known some few of these *Indian* missionaries of sober lives and good conversation; but I will aver, without wronging the church of *Rome*, that

three

three parts of them are of lewd behaviour, and who have been often punished by their superiors for wilful back-sliding from that obedience they formerly vowed. In a word, lust and liberty, under the cloak of piety and conversion of souls, draw many friars (most commonly the younger sort) to those remote *American* parts: (one instance of which I will relate of my own knowledge,) Father *John Navarro*, of the order of *Franciscans*, having in a lay-habit, kept company with a woman-player in *Spain* for the space of a year, and fearing a discovery, entered himself in a mission to *Guatimála*, in the year 1632, whilst I was there. On his arrival, he was made master and reader of divinity, upon account of his great learning. In the year 1635, upon St. *James*'s day (for better memory of the tragical event) a *Spanish* gentleman of some figure, surprized Father *Navarro* in bed with his wife, and in the very act of adultery; the Spaniard immediately drew his sword, and gave the priest several deep cuts in the head and face, but miss'd his intended mortal stroke, by *Navarro*'s sudden escape; however, the injured husband immediately cut his wife's throat, and then retired to close sanctuary. *Navarro* was carried to a convent to be cured; after which he was banished the country; and two years afterwards I saw him at *Carthagena*, on his return to *Spain*; his face was then frightfully scarrify'd, and thereby he will always bear, in full view, a wretched memento of that fatal lascivious act.

In the Year 1625, there were four missions sent to *America* and the *Philippine* islands; *viz.* one of *Franciscans* to *Jucatan*, another of *Mercenarians* to *Mexico*, and two of *Dominicans* and *Jesuits* to the *Philippines*: At this time I resided among the Dominicans in a convent at *Xeres* in *Andalusia*. The Pope's commissary for one of these missions was friar *Mattheo de la villa*, who had a commission for thirty, of which he had engaged twenty-four in and about *Madrid*. This commissary appointed friar *Antonio Calvo*, to be his substitute, with orders for him to visit the cloisters of *Andalusia*, namely, *Cordova*, *Sevil*, *St. Lucar*, and *Xeres*, and there to endeavour to make up his compliment of thirty missionaries, which he soon compleated. About the end of *May* father *Calvo* came to *Xeres*, and in his company was one *Antonio Melendez*, of the college of *St. Gregory* in *Valladolid*, with whom I had formerly a particular acquaintance and friendship: *Melendez* rejoiced greatly to find me in the convent; and being well stock'd with *Spanish* pistoles, the first night of his arrival he invited me to his chamber to an elegant supper. The rich *Xeres* sack soon warmed my friend's breast, and his whole discourse turned upon converting the heathens to christianity; in which he omitted no arguments to induce me to accompany him in that pious undertaking, which he assured me was apostolical; and that if we suffer'd martyrdom in the propagation of the gospel, we should be canonized by the Pope, and made collateral with the apostles in Heaven; then he endeavoured to tempt me with temporal pleasures, telling me, that the streets of the *Indian* towns were paved with gold and silver; that the stones were mostly pearls, rubies, and diamonds; that the woods abounded with all sorts of fragrant spices, such as nutmegs, cloves, mace and cinnamon; and in short, that it was a land flowing with milk and honey, abounding with the finest chocolate and the sweetest sugars.

Supper

Supper being ended, *Melendez* desired to know how my heart stood affected to this journey, solemnly protesting, that he should not enjoy a quiet night's rest until he was fully satisfied of my resolution to accompany him. He then presented me with half a dozen pistoles, assuring me that I should want for nothing, and that the next morning father *Calvo* should furnish me with whatsoever money was necessary to purchase conveniencies for my support and comfort in so long and tedious a journey. I answered *Melendez*, that sudden resolutions might produce future grief and sorrow; and therefore for that night I would upon my pillow consult with myself concerning his proposition, assuring him at the same time, that for his sake I would do much, and that if I should resolve to accompany him, my resolution, I was well persuaded, would engage another in the same service, an *Irish* friar, named *Thomas Delson*.

Thus I took my leave of *Melendez*, and retired to my chamber and bed, which that night was no place of repose for me. For though the arguments used by *Melendez* did not move me much, yet the opportunity of concealing myself from the sight and knowledge of my dearest relations and friends, had a great effect upon me, refreshing my memory with a harsh and angry letter, which not long before I had received from my own father in *England*, signifying unto me the displeasure of most of my friends and kindred, and his own grievous indignation against me, because he had been at so much care and expence in my learning and education, and I not only refused to enter into the order of jesuits, (which was his only hopes) but had proved in my affections a deadly foe and enemy to that society; that he should have thought his money better spent, if I had been a scullion in the college of jesuits, than if I should prove a general in the order of dominicans; that I must entertain no hopes of ever being welcome to my brothers or relations in *England*, or even to him himself; that I must never expect to hear from him again, nor dare to see him; that if I returned home, he would set the jesuits upon me (whom I had opposed and deserted) to chase me out of my native country; and that I should never receive a farthing advantage from all the estate he then enjoy'd.

I was yet very young; and the thoughts of being thus abandoned by all my friends and relations, occasioned many melancholy reflections: Serious studies and ripeness of learning, joined to a careful discussion of some school points and controversies, had imbibed in me a strong opposition to most of the principal tenets of the church of *Rome*; and I considered with myself, that if I stay'd in the convent, when my studies were fully finished, the dominicans, by the Pope's Mandamus, would send me home as a missionary to my native country, where I must encounter many difficulties; the frowns and menaces of a wrathful father; the threats and insults of a fiery and furious bigotted brother, a colonel in the army, joined with the subtle plots and intrigues of the jesuits, who, by the great interest they then had at court, with friends in power, would not fail to chase me like a hunted deer from covert to covert, till they had run me to death, or obliged me to fly for my life to some foreign country. These considerations co-operating with an earnest desire of viewing the wonderful works of the creation in this new-discovered

world.

world, and the farther ſpiritual knowledge which might be acquired by inſpecting the ſtate of the new-planted church, and of the church-planters lives and converſations in thoſe parts, induced me to form a favourable opinion of my friend *Melendez*'s propoſals; Wherefore, after a whole night's contemplation, during which time inward ſtrife and debate would not permit me to cloſe my eyes, at the approach of day, my reſtleſs mind formed a firm and ſettled reſolution to viſit *America*, where I might remain until my angry father's death, and in hopes to obtain from the rich mines of *Potoſi* ſuch a fortune as might counterpoiſe that child's part, which for deteſting the four-corner'd cap of the jeſuits, my father had deprived me of.

Accordingly the next day I went in company with my *Iriſh* friend, friar *Deleon*, to dine with *Melendez*, when we aſſured him of our ſteady reſolution to accompany him in this miſſion. At which he greatly rejoiced, and after dinner we were both preſented to father *Calvo*, the bald-pate ſuperior, who immediately embraced us with a pretended great extaſy, promiſing us many courteſies in the way; and at the ſame time ſhewed us a bill of fare or memorandums of the dainties he had prepared for the voyage, what varieties of fleſh and fiſh, how many ſheep, hogs, fat fowls, gammons of bacon, barrels of white biſket, and jars of delicate wine, what ſtore of rice, figs, olives, capers, raiſins, lemons, ſour and ſweet oranges, pomgranates, preſerves, conſerves, and all ſorts of *Portugal* ſweetmeats: For notwithſtanding their pretended mortification, no people in the world fare more deliciouſly, or feed upon greater dainties than the prieſts of the church of *Rome*. The ſuperior then promiſed that he would make us maſters of arts and divinity: He next opened his purſe, and gave us money freely to ſpend in *Xeres*, and to carry us to *Cadiz*; and laſtly beſtowed upon us the holy father's benediction, that no miſchief might befall us in our way.

Father *Calvo* being apprehenſive, that love of ſome of the nuns (too powerful with *Spaniſh* friars) might retard our intended journey, with cunning policy perſuaded us to depart from *Xeres* the next morning, promiſing to ſend our cheſts and books after us; which we willingly complied with; and accordingly *Melendez*, and a *Spaniſh* friar of *Xeres*, with *Thomas Deleon* and myſelf, mounted upon little boricoes or aſſes, rode like ſo many *Spaniſh* dons towards *Port St. Mary*'s, where we arrived in the evening. Don *Frederique de Toledo*, the governor there, hearing of the arrival of four *Indian* apoſtles, and unwilling to loſe the opportunity of ſome ſoul ſanctification, which he expected from us, entertained us that night with a ſtately ſupper, in which no coſts were ſpared, not doubting but that by receiving four prophets, he ſhould receive a fourfold reward hereafter. The galleys and veſſels in the harbour ſaluted us with the ſound of trumpets and other muſick, and the people thought the ſtreets bleſſed by our walking in them, wiſhing they might enjoy ſome reliques from us, whom they beheld as appointed to martyrdom for the ſake of propagating the goſpel. Supper ended, we were conducted by don *Frederique*'s gentleman to the cloiſter of the *Minims*, appointed by the governor for our lodging that night; where the friars, to ſhew their brotherly love, waſhed our feet, and then recommended

recommended us to quiet and peaceable reſt. The next morning, after a plentiful breakfaſt beſtowed upon us by theſe poor mendicant friars, a boat was prepared for us by the governor, who ordered his gentlemen afore-mentioned to wait upon us to *Cadiz*.

Upon our arrival in that city we were welcomed by our fellow miſſionaries, as well as by the Pope's commiſſary, friar *Matthew de la Villa*; who ſaluted us with the Pope's plenary indulgences *à culpa & à pœna*, whereby we were abſolved from all former ſins, and from any puniſhment due to them. Here we continued in daily honour and eſtimation, enjoying all the pleaſures which *Cadiz* could afford us by ſea and land, until the time of the departure of the fleet, which was about a month. At which time our grand apoſtle, friar *Matthew de la Villa*; who, we thought, burned with the zeal of martyrdom, took his leave of us; ſhewing us his holineſs's commiſſion to appoint ſuch ſuperior in his room as he ſhould think proper; and he accordingly appointed father *Calvo* to be ſuperior of this miſſion, and returned himſelf to *Madrid*, being better pleaſed to enjoy a biſhoprick in *Spain* (as we afterwards underſtood) than to hazard his life in the converſion of the *Indians*. His departure cauſed a great murmuring amongſt us, and ſo much diſcomfited two of our miſſionaries, that they privately withdrew, and were not heard of afterwards. But the reſt of us were well enough pleaſed with honeſt *Calvo*, who was eſteemed a ſimple ignorant old man, with whom we could be free, and jeer at our pleaſure; he generally appearing more like a greaſy cook (by handling his fat gammons of bacon) than the Pope's commiſſary. And thus, under the conduct of a ſloven, was this grand apoſtolical miſſion to be convey'd, firſt to *Mexico* in *New-Spain*, and from thence to *Manila*, the capital of the *Philippine* iſlands.

CHAP. II.

The Sailing of the Fleet from Cadiz *for* America: *The ſorrowful Parting of the Friars and the young Nuns on that Occaſion: The Arrival of the Fleet at* Guadalupe, *where they came to an Anchor; and ſome of the* Spaniards *going athore upon the Iſland, were attacked by the Savages, and ſeveral of them were killed, wounded, and drowned; occaſioned (as was ſuppoſed) by the Treachery of a Mulatto Chriſtian, who had lived twelve Years amongſt the* Indians.

UPON the firſt of *July*, 1625, in the afternoon, *Don Carlos de Ybarra*, admiral of the galeons which then lay in the harbour of *Cadiz*, made a ſignal for all paſſengers, ſoldiers and ſailors, to be on board their reſpective ſhips early the next morning. The loudeſt peal of thunder could not give a more dreadful ſhock to ſome of our young amorous miſſionaries, than the warning-gun fired upon this occaſion; for having enjoyed great privilege and liberty during their abode in the city of *Cadiz*, they were ſo much intangled with the love of the young nuns, that they could not bear the thoughts of departure. Now you might behold them at the iron gates of the nunneries, with downcaſt eyes and demure looks, taking their leave of thoſe young tender votaries, who with weeping eyes, preſented the young friars with comfortable cordials againſt ſea-

ſickneſs,

ſickneſs, and with fine caps, ſhirts, and handkerchiefs, moſt curiouſly work'd, as tokens of their love and tender affection: And upon this occaſion we loſt another of our company, one friar *John Pacheco*, whoſe heart being intirely devoted to a young franciſcan nun, was not to be found amongſt his fellow miſſionaries.

An accident which befel me the morning of our embarkation, which was the ſecond of *July*, was very near putting an end to my voyage, and to all my golden hopes at once; for early that morning I had noticed, that father *Pablo de Condres*, an old crab-fac'd *Engliſh* friar, was arrived at Cadiz, with the duke of *Medina*'s letter to the governor, commanding him to make a ſtrict ſearch for me, and to bring me back to my convent; for that it was the king of *Spain*'s poſitive orders, that no *Engliſhmen* ſhould be ſent upon this miſſion, having a country of their own to convert. This ſtratagem was invented by this ill-natur'd old friar to fruſtrate my reſolution, and hinder my embarkation to the *Indies*; in which he was ſeconded by father *Diego de la Fluente*, then provincial of *Caſtile*, who having accompany'd count *Gondomar* to *England*, had contracted a familiar acquaintance and friendſhip with my father and family; from this father *Diego* I receiv'd a flattering letter, wherein that ſuperior made me many kind offers of preferment, if I would deſiſt from my journey, and return to him to *Caſtile*. Theſe proceedings put me into the greateſt diſorder and confuſion imaginable; I was almoſt diſtracted with the thoughts of being forced back to *Xeres*, and from thence to be ſent a miſſionary to *England*, upon account of the reaſons I have already offered. In this diſtreſs I applied to my friend *Melendez*, who (always quick at invention) immediately convey'd me privately on board our veſſel, where the cooper, without the knowledge of any but friends, headed me up in a biſket caſk, and when the governor of *Cadiz* came on board, and made a ſtrict ſearch for me, our ſuperior *Calvo*, with a confidence that would have outfaced the father of lies himſelf, poſitively denied my being on board, aſſuring him, that I was withdrawn, and could not be found; which laſt aſſertion was true enough, for no one would ever expect to find me in the belly of a hogſhead. Tho' my ſituation in my new apartment was very uneaſy, I could not help being diverted with hearing the different cenſures and opinions of the perſons on board relating to my concealment, and the aſſurance and perſeverance of my truſty ſuperior, that I was not in the ſhip; as alſo my being turned and tumbled about amongſt the other caſks in the ſtrict ſearch which the officers made for me, and with the uneaſineſs and fretting of the old friar *Pablo de Condres*, at his diſappointment of not finding me there. At length they gave over the ſearch and went on ſhore, and ſoon after I perceived the veſſel was under ſail, by hearing the ſailors cry out *a dios! a dios!* and the people from the ſhore anſwering *buen viaci! buen viaci!* After we had ſailed a little diſtance from the harbour, the caſk was unheaded, and I was releaſed from my confinement, my adventure affording diverſion and paſtime enough to my fellow miſſionaries for that day.

In the ſhip called the *St. Andrew*, was the marqueſs *de Seralvo* and his lady; this nobleman was appointed governor of *Mexico*, in the room of the count *de Gelves*, who had been obliged to retire to a convent in

for fear of the common people, who the year before had mutiny'd againſt him. In the ſame ſhip with the marquiſs went *don Martin de Carillo*, a prieſt, and inquiſitor of the inquiſition of *Valladolid:* he was ſent over as viſitor-general to *Mexico*, to examine into the aforeſaid mutiny and inſurrection which had lately happened in that city, upon a quarrel between the governor and the archbiſhop (as ſhall be fully related afterwards) with full commiſſion and authority to impriſon, baniſh, and execute any of the delinquents. This fleet, conſiſting of thirty three ſhips, was convoy'd as far the gulph called *Golfo de Yeguas*, by eight *Spaniſh* men of war, which having ſeen us ſafe through the gulf, took their leave of us, and returned to *Spain*. We had a pleaſant voyage, without any ſtorm, but many calms; and we made the firſt land, being an iſland called *Deſſeada*, on the 20th day of *Auguſt*. Soon after which we alſo diſcovered the iſland of *Marigalante*, then *Dominica*, and laſtly *Guadalupe*, where we intended to water, and refreſh ourſelves Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon we came to a ſafe road, lying before the iſland, where we caſt anchor.

The *Indians* of *Guadalupe* do yearly expect the coming of the *Spaniſh* fleet, and reckoning their months by moons, they can give a near gueſs at the time of their arrival; and therefore take care to provide ſugar-canes, plantains, tortoiſes, and ſuch like proviſion, to barter with the *Spaniards*, for pins, needles, knives, and other ſmall haberdaſhery.

We were ſurpriſed to ſee theſe people naked, only a covering about their waſtes, their hair hanging down to the middle of their backs, their faces ſlaſh'd and figured in a ſtrange manner, with thin plates hanging at their noſes like hog-rings: They fawned upon us like children, making ſigns for ſuch things as they deſired; but what they moſt thirſted after was our wine, and with drinking but a moderate cup of *Spaniſh* ſack, they would preſently kick up their heels, and tumble about the deck like ſo many ſwine.

The next morning after our arrival, moſt of the friars went on ſhore, and having hired ſome of the *Spaniards* to waſh our cloaths, we walked about the iſland, meeting with many *Indians*, who gave us no moleſtation, but offered us their fruits in a courteous manner, at the ſame time begging any little toys they eſpied about us. We ventur'd alſo to go to ſome of their houſes, which ſtood by a pleaſant river, where we were kindly entertained with their fiſh and veniſon. About noon we happen'd to meet ſome of the miſſionary jeſuits in the midſt of the mountain, who were very earneſt in diſcourſe with a mulatto, naked like the reſt of the *Indians*. This mulatto was a Chriſtian, born at *Seville* in *Spain*, and had been formerly a ſlave to a rich merchant there: His name was *Lewis*, and he ſpoke the Spaniſh language very perfectly. About twelve years ago he ran away from his maſter at *Seville*, and coming to *Cadiz*, he offered his ſervice to a gentleman then bound to *America*, who imagining his firſt maſter would never have any intelligence of him in the new world, took him on board as his own ſlave. The mulatto remembering the hard uſage he had met with from his former maſter, and fearing that from *America*, he might by ſome contrivance or other be ſent back to *Spain*, and being alſo apprehenſive that his ſecond maſter (whoſe blows he had already

already felt in the ſhip) would prove as cruel to him as his firſt; when the ſhip arrived at *Guadaloupe*, choſe rather to run the hazard of his life amongſt the *Indians*, than to live in ſlavery under the *Spaniards*; and therefore he concealed himſelf amongſt the trees in the mountain, until the ſhips were ſailed; and afterwards being diſcovered by the ſavages, he preſented them with ſome few toys which he had got by ſtealth from his former maſter, with which they were ſo well pleaſed, that they took a liking to him, and entertained him amongſt them very kindly. During his twelve years continuance with them he had learned their language, and had married an *Indian* wife, by whom he had three children. We all joined together in arguments to perſuade this poor chriſtian to forſake that heatheniſh life, promiſing, that if he would go along with us, he ſhould be free from ſlavery for ever. The unhappy wretch, tho' he had lived twelve years without hearing a word of the true God, worſhipping ſtocks and ſtones with the other heathens, began to weep when he again heard of the name of Chriſt, and of everlaſting ſalvation, aſſuring us, that he would willingly go with us, were it not for his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved, and could not forſake: To this we replied, that by bringing them along with him, he might contribute to the ſaving of their ſouls alſo; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that neither he himſelf, his wife or children, ſhould ever want means competent for their maintenance during the courſe of their lives. The mulatto liſten'd attentively to what was ſaid to him, but gave a ſudden ſtart at the ſight of ſome *Indians* paſſing by, whom he perceived took notice of his conference with us; he then told us, that thoſe *Indians* would inform their brethren of his converſation with the chriſtians, who would ſuſpect their deſign of perſuading him to leave them, and would not only thereupon kill him, but we ſhould ſoon perceive their pretended kindneſs changed into the moſt inveterate rage, and the *Spaniards* would run a great hazard of being deſtroy'd: We deſired him to fear nothing, but to bring his family to the ſea-ſide, where he would find ſuch a number of ſoldiers well armed, as would be ſufficient to defend both him and ourſelves againſt the aſſaults of the ſavages; and that a boat ſhould be ready to carry him and his wife and children aboard the fleet. *Lewis* promiſed to take our advice, and left us, as we ſuppoſed, with a full reſolution to that purpoſe, ſaying, he would entice his wife and children to the ſea-ſhore under pretence of trading with us for ſome of our toys, and deſired us to have the boat ready to convey them on board.

Our cloaths by this time being waſh'd and dried, myſelf and moſt of the dominican friars went on board, leaving the jeſuits on the ſhore waiting for the mulatto and his family: There were alſo on ſhore many other perſons both men and women from the ſeveral ſhips in the harbour. After ſome time we were alarmed with a ſudden uproar upon land, and could perceive the people running to their boats in the utmoſt confuſion without their cloaths, and overloading the boats ſome of them ſunk with the perſons in them; but pitiful were the cries of ſome of our women, many of them throwing themſelves into the ſea, chuſing the hazard of being taken up by ſome boat, or at worſt to be drowned, rather than to fall into the hands of the ſavages. We were all amazed at this ſudden alteration

alteration, not knowing the cauſe of it; at laſt we diſcovered arrows flying very thick out of a ſwamp near to the ſhore; whereupon the admiral immediately ordered ſome of our great guns to be fired upon that part, which preſently diſperſed the Indians, who fled with a terrible outcry towards the mountain. Our boat brought three of our dominicans on board, amongſt whom was friar *John de la Cueva*, who was dangerouſly wounded in the ſhoulder: This friar very earneſtly perſuaded me to ſtay on ſhore, which I refuſed, and thereby eſcaped the danger. Two jeſuits were found dead on the ſand, and three dangerouſly wounded; three paſſengers were likewiſe ſlain and ten wounded: three other perſons belonging to the fleet were miſſing, and ſuppoſed to be murdered by the Indians in the woods, and fifteen were drowned. The mulatto came not according to his word, which gave us ſufficient reaſon to believe that he had either diſcovered the intention of the jeſuits to carry him off, with his wife and children, or that the ſavages having ſuſpected the ſame by obſerving the conference betwixt us, had obliged him to confeſs it, which occaſioned that ſudden and furious attack upon our people: What induced us to ſuſpect the treachery of the mulatto was, his telling us he ſhould know the jeſuits again by their black coats; and it was obſerved, that moſt of their arrows were directed againſt them, five of whom were preſently ſlain and dangerouſly wounded. All that night a ſtrict watch was kept on board the veſſels, for fear the Indians ſhould take the advantage of the dark to attack us in their canoes, but we ſaw or heard no more of them. In the morning the admiral cauſed all the ſhips to water with the utmoſt expedition, and a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers was ordered to ſecure the way from the ſhore to the watering-place, but not a ſavage appeared in ſight during the whole time; nor could we find our three men who were miſſing, tho' ſeveral perſons armed went in ſearch of them.

This day, the 22d of *Auguſt*, about noon, we hoiſted our ſails under a pleaſant gale, and left the iſland and harbour of *Guadalupe*.

CHAP. III.

The ſeparating of the fleet upon their arrival in the Weſt-Indies, *in order to go to their ſeveral ports: The arrival of the ſixteen ſhips with the vice-roy of* Mexico *and the miſſionaries on board, at the port of* St. John de Ulva, *or* Vera Cruz: *The difficulty of entring that harbour, and the manner of ſecuring the veſſels there: The ſolemn manner in which the marquis* de Seralva, *the new vice-roy of* Mexico, *was entertained at his landing; as alſo the entertainment of the dominican miſſionaries by the prior of the cloiſter of* St. Dominick: *And a deſcription of the town of* St. John de Ulva.

THE furious aſſault of the heathens upon our people, and murdering them, gave us a melancholy idea of our future proceedings; and our ſcrupulous conſciences began to call in queſtion the validity of the plenary indulgence and benediction beſtowed upon us by the holy father, as well as the infallibility of our apoſtolical miſſion, and the ſeeming warm zeal of converting the Indians, ſeemed to grow cool amongſt ſome of the young friars: But father *Calvo*, to revive our drooping ſpirits, told

told us many ſtories of the kind and gentle nature of the *Philippine Indians*, whither we were going; that moſt of them were chriſtians already, that they eſteemed their prieſts as gods upon earth, and that thoſe who were not yet converted to chriſtianity, were kept in awe by the power of the *Spaniards*.

After four days ſail friar *John de la Cueva* died of the wound he had received from the ſavages; and his body being very much ſwelled, we ſuſpected the arrow ſhot into his ſhoulder was poiſon'd, more eſpecially when we were informed, that one of the three jeſuits who were dangerouſly wounded at the ſame time, was dead on board another ſhip, and his body alſo greatly ſwell'd, as if by the effect of poiſon.

Being arrived amongſt the *Weſt-india* iſlands, our fleet began to leſſen; two of our ſhips departed for *Porto-Rico*, three for *St. Domingo*, two for *Jamaica*, one for *Margarita*, two for the *Havana*, three for *Carthagena*, two for *Campechy*, and two for *Honduras* and *Truxillo*. The remaining ſixteen ſhips kept their courſe for the port of *St. John de Ulva*, or *Vera Cruz*, in their way to *Mexico*, until they arrived at *la Sonda*, (ſo called by the Spaniards) or the Sound of *Mexico*. Here we were becalmed for a week, and the weather being ſultry hot, was very troubleſome to us; but our ſailors diverted us agreeably enough with their bathing in the ſea, and playing many antick tricks, until an accident put an end to their ſport: A mariner on board the ſhip *St. Franciſco*, attempting to ſwim from his own veſſel to viſit ſome friends on board of another not far off, was attack'd by the tiburon or ſhark, who ſnapp'd off a leg and an arm, as appeared by the body which was afterwards taken up.

A fair and pleaſant gale ſucceeded the calm, and three days afterwards, *to wit*, Monday the 11th of *September*, about 7 o' clock in the morning, as one of our friars was ſaying maſs upon deck, and the people of the ſhip all kneeling to hear it, a mariner cried out aloud, *Tierra, Tierra, Tierra!* Land, land, land! which ſo rejoiced our hearts, that we all quitted the maſs, and aroſe from our knees, to behold the continent of *America*. Great was the joy of all the fleet that day, and great was the ſlaughter of old father *Calvo* amongſt his fowls (of which he had been hitherto very ſparing) to feaſt his friars. About ten o'clock the whole face of the land was viſibly apparent, and we with full ſail running towards it. But our cautious admiral, knowing the danger of the coaſt, and eſpecially the difficulty of entering the harbour by reaſon of the many rocks which lie about it, and perceiving, as the wind then ſtood, that we ſhould not be able to make the port till towards the evening, called a council of all the pilots on board the fleet, to know whether it was adviſable to ſtand in for the haven, or to lie by under a mainſail till the next morning; the reſult was not to venture too near the land that day for fear of being benighted, but to lie by under the mainſail: Accordingly the watch was doubled, and the pilots ordered ſtrictly to their duty for that night. Our friars, without any concern, betook themſelves to their reſt; but before midnight the wind veered to the north, which cauſed a general cry and uproar not only in ours, but in all the other ſhips; the ſailors calling out to the friars in words to this effect, *What mean ye, you ſleepers! ariſe, call upon your God, to have mercy on us, that*

that we periſh not! The prieſts immediately began their devotions; hallowed wax candles were lighted, and litanies, ſacred hymns, and prayers were ſung to the virgin *Mary:* When behold, towards the dawning of the day, the north-wind ceaſed, and our former fair gale began to blow again. This I attributed to the good will and pleaſure of divine providence, and not to the howlings and bawlings of the friars to the virgin *Mary*. Nevertheleſs, the prieſts (to deceive the ſimple people) cried out, *Milagro! Milagro! Milagro!* a miracle! a miracle! a miracle! By eight of the clock the next morning, we came in full view of the houſes, and made ſignals for pilot-boats to conduct us into the harbour, which preſently came out, and ſteered the veſſels in one by one between thoſe rocks which render'd the entrance into that port as dangerous as any I have known in all my voyages both upon the north and ſouth ſeas. The fleet ſaluted the town and fort over-againſt it with their ordnance, the muſick on board the veſſels play'd moſt pleaſantly, and our hearts and countenances reciprocally rejoiced. We caſt anchor, but that was not ſufficient to ſecure our ſhips in this moſt dangerous haven, inſomuch that they were obliged to lengthen their cables, and faſten them to ſtrong iron rings which were fixed in the walls of the fort for that purpoſe, to ſecure the veſſels againſt the ſtrong and boiſterous northern winds, which blow full upon the ſhore.

Thus welcoming each other into the new world, on the twelfth day of *September*, 1625, we happily arrived in the famous town of *St. John de Ulva*, otherwiſe *Vera Cruz*: Famous for the landing here of that renowned conqueror *Hernando Cortez*, on his intended conqueſt of *Mexico*; here it was that with great preſence of mind, he ſunk all the veſſels which had brought him and the *Spaniards* into theſe parts, with intent that they might think of nothing but conqueſt, being deprived of all hopes of returning to the places from whence they came. Here it was that with about five hundred *Spaniards*, he began to fortify and ſtrengthen himſelf againſt millions of enemies. The proper name of this town is *St. John de Ulva*; but it is alſo called *Vera Cruz*, from the old harbour and haven of *Vera Cruz* (about ſix leagues from it) which obtained that name, becauſe it was firſt diſcovered on a *Good Friday*. The old *Vera Cruz* proving a dangerous port for ſhips, by reaſon of the violence of the northern winds, it was utterly forſaken by the *Spaniards*; who removed to *St. John de Ulva*, where their ſhips found a ſafer road, upon account of a great high rock, which is a ſtrong defence againſt thoſe winds: And becauſe the memory of the diſcovery upon *Good Friday* ſhould never be forgotten, (being in the year 1519,) they have alſo named this port *Vera Cruz*.

As ſoon as we came on ſhore, we found ſolemn preparations for our entertainment: The whole town were aſſembled at the ſea-ſhore; the prieſts and canons of the cathederal church, the religious orders of the ſeveral convents, (which are there dominicans, franciſcans, mercenarians, and jeſuits) were in readineſs, with their croſſes borne before them, to conduct the new viceroy of *Mexico* in proceſſion to the chief cathedral. The viceroy and his lady landed under a diſcharge of all the cannon from the fort and the ſhips in the harbour. They were immediately placed

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under a fine canopy of ſtate provided for that purpoſe, and *Te Deum* began to be ſung, with much variety of muſical inſtruments, all marching in proceſſion to the cathedral, which was illuminated with a great number of lamps, torches, and wax candles: A prayer of thankſgiving was then ſung, holy water by a prieſt ſprinkled upon all the people, and a maſs by three prieſts ſolemnly celebrated. This being finiſhed, the viceroy was attended by the Alcalde-major, or chief-juſtice, by the officers of the town, and the judges ſent from *Mexico* for that purpoſe, with the ſoldiers under arms, to his lodgings.

The friars likewiſe in proceſſion, with their croſſes before them, were conducted to their ſeveral cloiſters. Father *Calvo* preſented his dominicans to the prior of the cloiſter of *St. Dominick*, who entertained us very kindly, with ſweetmeats and chocolate: After which a moſt ſtately dinner was provided both of fiſh and fleſh; and here was plenty, even to profuſeneſs, of capons, turkies, and other fowls, to ſhew us with what variety of proviſions the country abounded. The prior of this cloiſter was no ſtaid, antient, grey-headed man, (ſuch as generally are made ſuperiors to govern young and wanton friars) but an amorous gay young ſpark, who had obtained the provincial government of that convent with a bribe of a thouſand ducats. After dinner he conducted us to his own appartment, where we thought to have found a learned library, inſtead of which there were about a dozen old books lying in a corner, cover'd with duſt and cobwebs, as if they were aſhamed the treaſure which lay hid in them ſhould be ſo much forgotten and undervalued, and the Guitarre, or Spaniſh lute, preferr'd and ſet above them: His chamber was richly dreſs'd, and hung with many pictures, and hangings of cotton-wool, and coloured feathers of *Mechoacan*; his tables covered with carpets of ſilk, his cupboards adorned with ſeveral ſorts of *China* cups and diſhes, and ſtored within with ſundry dainties of ſweetmeats and conſerves. This young prior's principal diſcourſe conſiſted chiefly of the favour and love which the ladies, and the richeſt merchants wives of the town bare towards him; his clear and excellent voice, and great ſkill in muſick. It gave many of us great uneaſineſs, to obſerve ſo looſe a behaviour in a ſuperior, whoſe duty it was to preach repentance and mortification, and to enforce the ſame by good example.

Weary of the vain boaſting of this epicurean prior, we walked out to take a view of the town of *St. John de Ulva*, which is ſituated upon a ſandy ſoil; but the ſouth-weſt ſide of it is mooriſh and full of bogs, which, with the great heat that generally prevails there, renders the place very unhealthy: The number of inhabitants are about three thouſand, and amongſt them ſeveral rich merchants, ſome worth two hundred, ſome three hundred, and ſome four hundred thouſand ducats. The great trade brought to this place from all parts of *Spaniſh America*, and the ſmall number of inhabitants occaſioned by its unhealthineſs, contribute much to the wealth of theſe merchants, which is often much diminiſhed by frequent fires, their buildings being all of timber and boards. The whole ſtrength of the town conſiſteth in the difficult and dangerous entrance into the haven, and a rock within muſket ſhot of the town, upon which they have built a fort, and garriſon'd it with a ſmall number of ſoldiers.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The departure of the miſſionaries from St. John de Ulva *towards* Mexico; *Their arrival at* Old Vera Cruz, *and their entertainment there by the* Indians; *from whence they purſue their journey to* Xalapa de la Vera Crux, *and are lodged there in a cloiſter of Mendicant Franciſcan Friars; The mortifying habit and deportment of that order deſcribed: The Miſſionaries arrive at* Segura, *with the hiſtory of the foundation of that town.*

AFTER about two days abode at *St. John de Ulva*, our ſuperior *Calvo* haſten'd us away, leſt the unhealthineſs of our ſituation might occaſion ſome diſtempers amongſt us. Thirty mules were ready for us, which had been purpoſely brought from *Mexico*, and had been here waiting for us ſix days before the fleet arrived. The firſt *Indians* we met with were at *Old Vera Crux*. Here we began to diſcover the power of the prieſts and friars over the poor natives, and their ſubjection and obedience unto them. The prior of *St. John de Ulva* had wrote a letter unto theſe *Indians*, advertiſing them of our paſſing that way, and charging them to meet us, and to welcome us into thoſe parts; which they did very gallantly; for about two miles before we came to the town, twenty of their chief men met us on horſeback, and preſented each of us with a noſegay of flowers: Thoſe rode before us a little way, when we were met by the muſick and officers of the church, next the ſinging-men and all the choiriſters met us, who walked before us ſinging *Te Deum*, till we came to the chief market-place of *Old Vera Crux*, where a long arbour was erected with green boughs, and a table furniſhed with boxes of conſerves, and other ſweet-meats and diet bread. The chief *Indians* and officers of the town kneeled down and kiſſed our hands one by one, and then made a ſpeech unto us, in which they welcomed us into the country, calling us the Apoſtles of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and thanked us for leaving our country, our relations and friends, to ſave their ſouls; further telling us, they honoured us as gods upon earth. In anſwer to which we returned them our hearty thanks for the kind reception we had met with, aſſuring them, that nothing was of greater concern to us than the welfare of their ſouls, for the preſervation of which we regarded neither dangers by ſea or land, nor the inhuman cruelties of ſuch ſavages as had yet no knowledge of the true God, nor even our own lives. We then preſented the *Indian* chiefs with beads, medals, croſſes of braſs, *Agnus Dei*'s, and ſome reliques brought from *Spain*; and to the common people we gave indulgences for forty years, which the Pope had granted to us, to beſtow where, and upon whom, and as often as we pleaſed. Thus we began to blind the ſimple people with ignorant and erroneous principles.

The *Indians*, both men and women, obſerving us preparing to depart, kneeled down in the ſtreet, from the market-place to where we took our mules, craving our bleſſing, which we beſtowed upon them with lifted up hands, and making over them the ſign of the croſs. This ſubmiſſion of the poor *Indians* unto the prieſts in theſe parts did ſo puff up the pride of our young miſſionary friars, that they already began to

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think themſelves greater than the beſt biſhops in *Spain*, who (tho' proud enough) never travel there with ſuch publick acclamations as we did; the trumpets ſounding before us, the chief of the town attended us about a mile upon our journey, and then took their leave.

The firſt two days after our departure from *Old Vera Cruz*, we lodged in ſmall *Indian* towns, nevertheleſs, we found kind entertainment, and plenty of proviſions, eſpecially capons, turkies, and ſeveral ſorts of fruit. The third day at night we came to a great town, conſiſting of near 2000 inhabitants, *Spaniards* and *Indians*, called *Xalapa de la Vera Cruz*. This town in the year 1634, was made a biſhop's ſee; the biſhoprick of *La Puebla de los Angelos*, being divided into two; and this being not above one third part of it, is eſteemed to be worth ten thouſand ducats a year. It ſtands upon a very fertile ſoil, producing good crops both of *indian* and *ſpaniſh* wheat. There are many rich *Indian* towns about it, abounding with fine plantations for making ſugar and cochineal, and for breeding mules and cattle. In this town there is one great church and an inferior chapel, both belonging to a cloiſter of mendicant franciſcan friars; wherein we were lodged that night, and the next day, being ſunday. The ſuperior or guardian of this cloiſter, was not leſs vain than the prior of *St. John de Ulva*; and tho' he was not of our profeſſion, yet he welcomed us with ſtately entertainment.

Here, and whereſoever we further travelled, we obſerved a ſtrange looſeneſs of behaviour both in the habits as well as profeſſion of the prieſts and friars. This order of mendicant franciſcan friars, have vowed a more ſtrict rule of poverty in their dreſs and behaviour than any other order of the *Romiſh* church: Their cloathing ought to be coarſe ſack-cloth; their girdles ſhould be made of hemp, no finer than ſtrong halters; their ſhirts ſhould be woollen, they ought to wear neither ſtockings nor ſhoes, or at leaſt, only wooden clogs or ſandals of hemp; their hands and fingers are not ſo much as to touch money, and they have denied the uſe, poſſeſſion, or property of it; and they are not to ride on horſeback in their journies, but to travel on foot: And all this abſtinence they promiſe to obſerve by a ſolemn vow and covenant; the breach of which they acknowledge to be a deadly and mortal ſin, deſerving excomunication. And yet, theſe mendicant franciſcans live here as if they had never made any ſuch vow: For in *Xalapa* you might ſee a friar of the cloiſter riding upon a fine gelding, with his lacquey-boy by his ſide, no farther than the town's end, to hear a dying man's confeſſion, having his long habit tuck'd up to his girdle, to ſhew his ſilk ſtockings, and neat cordovan ſhoes, alſo a fine pair of holland drawers, with lace three inches broad at the knee, and under their broad ſleeves, you might perceive their doublets quilted with ſilk, and their holland ſhirts laced at the wriſt-bands: Nor were there the leaſt ſymptoms of mortification in their diſcourſe, but mere vanity. After ſupper they began to talk of carding and dicing; and challenged us who were new comers to play, which moſt of us refuſed: At laſt they prevailed with two of our friars to play at cards with two of theirs: this produced drinking and ſwearing, ſcoffing at their religious vow of poverty; and one of theſe franciſcans, in a jeſting manner, opened one of his broad ſleeves, and with his other,

ſwept the money he won into it, ſaying, *I have vowed not to touch money, nor to keep any, I meant then a natural touching of it, but my ſleeve may touch it, and my ſleeve may keep it*; demonſtrating by ſuch ſcoffs and jeſts, what religion was in his heart. And now I began to find out, that a profuſe liberty and looſeneſs of life brought yearly ſo many friars and jeſuits to theſe parts, more than zeal for preaching the goſpel, and converting ſouls to chriſt.

From *Xalapa* our next day's journey was to a place called by the *Spaniards*, *La Rinconada*, which conſiſted only of one ſingle houſe, called *La Venta*, or, The Inn, becauſe it lies ſo far from any other town, that travellers can ſcarce avoid baiting there at noon, or lodging there at night; this houſe is ſeated in a low valley, and is the hotteſt place in all the road between *St. John de Ulva* and *Mexico*. About it are the beſt ſprings and fountains I ever met with; for the water, tho' warm with the heat of the ſun, is yet as ſweet as any milk; but the inn-keeper pours it into great earthen veſſels, which he places in a moiſt wateriſh ſand, whereby it becomes ſo cold, that it would make one's teeth almoſt to chatter. This water, by its ſweetneſs and artificial coolneſs, affords a moſt delicious refreſhment in this hot and ſcorching country. The valley and the country round about it, is very rich and fertile, full of *ſpaniſh* farms of ſugar and cochineal, and *ſpaniſh* and *indian* wheat. But we had here a moſt tedious and troubleſome night, occaſioned by the muſketoes and the heat of the weather.

The next night we arrived at a town call'd *Segura*, peopled both by *Indians* and *Spaniards*, conſiſting of about 1000 inhabitants. Here again, without any charges, we were entertained in as ſtately a manner, by franciſcan friars, as we had been at *Xalappa*, and found them as full of levity and vain-glory as the reſt. This town was founded by *Hernando Cortez*, and called *Segura de la Frontera*, being built by him for a frontier town, to ſecure the *Spaniards* who came from *St. John de Ulva* to *Mexico*, againſt the *Culhuacans* and the *Indians* of *Tepeacac*, who were in alliance with the *Mexicans*, and much annoyed the *Spaniards*. But what incenſed *Cortez* moſt was, the *Indians* inſulting him and his company after his firſt repulſe at *Mexico* in their retreat, the *Culhuacans* and the *Tepeacacs* lying in wait for the *Spaniards*, took 12 of them, and ſacrificed them alive to their idols, and eat their fleſh. Whereupon *Cortez* deſired *Maxixca*, a chief captain of *Tlaxcallan*, and divers other *Indians* of *Tlaxcalla*. to aſſiſt him in taking revenge of the *Tepeacacs*, for their cruelty in ſacrificing his ſoldiers, as well as for the great damages they did the *Tlaxcallans*, by making frequent incurſions into their country, aſſiſted by the *Calhuacans* and *Mexicans*. *Maxixca* and the chiefs of *Tlaxcalla*, forthwith entered into counſel with the ſtates and commonalty of the town; who, glad of ſo favourable an opportunity of avenging themſelves upon the *Tepeacacs*, determined with general conſent, to aſſiſt *Cortez*, with 40,000 fighting men, beſides proper perſons to carry the baggage, proviſions, and other neceſſaries. With this army of *Indians*, together with his own men and horſes, *Cortez* marched to *Tepeacac*; demanding ſatisfaction for the death of the 12 chriſtians, that they ſhould yield obedience to the king of *Spain*, his maſter, and that they ſhould not henceforward receive

receive any *Mexicans* or *Culhuacans* into their town or houſes. The *Tepeacacs* anſwered, they had ſlain the *Spaniards* in a juſt cauſe, for preſuming to paſs through their country by force in a time of war; that they would yield no obedience to perſons they did not know: and that the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans* were their friends and allies, whom they would always entertain friendly, both in their town and houſes; wiſhing *Cortez* and his army would return to *Tlaxcalla*, unleſs he and his *Spaniards* had a mind to be ſacrificed as their 12 friends had been. This enrag'd *Cortez*, and he made a furious attack upon the town, which was bravely defended by the *Tepeacacs*, aſſiſted by the *Culhuacans*, for a conſiderable time; but at laſt they were overpower'd by *Cortez*, and a great number of them ſlain, without the loſs of one *Spaniard*, though many of the *Tlaxcallans* were kill'd. The lords and principal perſons of *Tepeacac* finding themſelves overcome, and that their ſtrength was inferior to their enemies, ſurrendered to *Cortez*, upon condition, to baniſh for ever their friends and allies the *Culhuacans* and *Mexicans*; as alſo, to give up to puniſhment thoſe *Indians* who had been the occaſion of the death of the 12 *Spaniards*. Upon which *Cortez* adjudged, that the inhabitants of ſuch towns as had been privy or aſſenting to the murder, ſhould, for ever, remain captives and ſlaves. In 20 days, the *Spaniards* ſubdued the whole province, which is very large, threw down their idols, and drove from thence all the *Mexicans* and *Culhuacans*: And for their greater ſecurity, *Cortez* cauſed this town of *Segura de la Frontera* to be built, appointing proper officers to govern the ſame, that chriſtians and ſtrangers, travelling from *Vera Cruz* to *Mexico*, might paſs with ſafety, and without danger. This town lies in a more temperate climate than any from *St. John de Ulva* to *Mexico*; and the people, who had been formerly eaters of man's fleſh, are now become as civil and well-behaved, as loving and courteous, as any upon the road.

CHAP. V.

The miſſionaries arrive at the town of Tlaxcalla; *an account of the war between the* Tlaxcallans *and the* Spaniards, *under the command of* Hernando Cortez; *he, with about* 400 Spaniards *and* 600 Indians, *gains a compleat victory over the* Tlaxcallans, *who afterwards enter into alliance with the* Spaniards *againſt the* Mexicans, *which alliance was the ruin of the great* Mexican *empire.*

FROM *Segura de la Frontera*, we declined a little out of our way to the weſtward (our direct road lying north-weſt) to take a view of the famous town of *Tlaxcalla*, whoſe inhabitants joined with *Cortez*, and we may ſay, were the chief inſtruments of that great and unparallel'd conqueſt. This town being of more note than any town or village between *St. John de Ulva* and *Mexico*; I think I ought not to name it briefly, and paſs by it only as a traveller; but to record to poſterity, the renown it gain'd by the valour of its inhabitants in the conqueſt of *South-America*, by *Hernando Cortez*, who being on his march to *Mexico*, and arriving at *Zaclotan*, was informed, that the *Tlaxcallans* were men of courage, and enemies to *Montezuma*, the emperor of *Mexico*, he therefore thought it his beſt policy to join with them againſt the *Mexicans*.

Hereupon

Hereupon he diſpatched four *Indians* of a town called *Zempoalla*, as ambaſſadors to *Tlaxcalla*, to acquaint them of his coming into thoſe parts, and that he was deſirous to viſit their town; not with any ill intent, but for their good and mutual intereſt.

The *Tlaxcallans* fearing *Cortez*, and thinking him a friend to *Montezuma*, becauſe he was on his way to viſit him; and having alſo heard of the many coſtly preſents which the emperor had ſent to *Cortez*, reſolved to oppoſe his coming; they therefore returned no anſwer to his embaſſage; but ſeized the four meſſengers, and impriſoned them, intending to ſacrifice them to their Gods as ſpies. *Cortez*, after waiting a conſiderable time for the return of his ambaſſadors, departed from *Zaclotan* towards *Tlaxcalla*, without receiving any intelligence from thence. They had not marched many miles before they came to a great wall, made of ſtone, without lime or mortar, being nine foot high, and twenty foot broad; and croſſed over a great valley from one mountain to another. There was only one entrance or gate, againſt which another wall was built of a conſiderable length, and the ſpace between was about forty paces, ſo that it would have been a dangerous paſſage, if any perſons had been there to defend it. *Cortez* aſked the reaſon of erecting that wall, and who had built it: The *Indians*, who went with him, told him, it was built by their anceſtors, being the diviſion between their country and *Tlaxcalla*, with an intent to oppoſe the incurſions of the *Tlaxcallans* in time of war, who uſed to rob and murder them, becauſe of the friendſhip between them and *Montezuma*, whoſe vaſſals they were. However, *Cortez*, without fear, enter'd this ſtreight between the two walls, but marched with great caution, with his artillery in the front, and ſometimes he himſelf would be half a league before them, to make diſcoveries, and to take care that the way was clear; after they had got about three leagues from the wall, he haſten'd the march of the foot becauſe it grew late, ſtill marching himſelf, with his horſe-men, ahead, to make diſcoveries, when aſcending a hill, they met with 15 *Indians*, armed with ſwords and targets, and tufts of feathers about their heads, which they always wear in war. Theſe being ſpies, as ſoon as they ſaw the horſe, began to fly: *Cortez* called to them to ſtop, but in vain. He then ordered ſix of his horſemen to purſue them; and they came up with them: Upon which, the *Indians* drew together, ſeemingly determin'd rather to die than yield, making ſigns to the *Spaniards* to ſtop; and the horſemen coming to ſeize them, a ſkirmiſh began; and the *Indians* ſlew two of the horſes, the *Spaniards* averring, that at two ſtrokes they cut off a horſe's head. At the ſame time an army of *Indians*, conſiſting of about 5000 men appeared in ſight, advancing to the ſuccour of the 15 men before-mentioned; but they came too late, for they were all ſlain becauſe they refuſed to ſurrender. Theſe *Indians* kept ſtill advancing, until they eſpied the chriſtian army moving towards them, when they fled, and were purſued by the horſe, who killed about 70 of them without receiving any hurt. The *Tlaxcallans* perceiving the advantage the horſe had over their foot, began to uſe ſtratagems with the *Spaniards* to decoy them: And for this purpoſe, they ſent ſome of their *Indians*, (with two of the four *Zempoallans*, whom they had detained priſoners) to *Cortez*; theſe

Indians

Indians assured him, that the *Tlaxcallans* were ignorant of what had happen'd; that the *Indians* who had oppoſed their paſſage belonged to another nation over whom they had no juriſdiction; that they were ſorry for what had happened, and that they would willingly pay for the two horſes which were ſlain: Then they kindly invited the *Spaniards* into their town, ſaying, they would gladly receive them, and enter into league and friendſhip with them, becauſe they perceived they were valiant men. *Cortez* not miſtruſting their courteſy and good-will, told them he accepted their invitation and friendſhip; and as for his horſes, he required no ſatisfaction; for that he was in daily expectation of more than he wanted. *Cortez* then marched on till near ſun-ſetting, when his army being much fatigued, he encamped in an advantageous place near a river-ſide, keeping a ſtrict watch during the night, both of horſe and foot; but no attempt was made. The next morning at ſun-riſing, the army decamp'd and marched forwards, when they met the two other Ambaſſadors who had been ſent from *Zaclotan*. Theſe made bitter complaints of the uſage they had met with from the *Tlaxcallans*, who had bound them, and detained them in priſon, from which, by good fortune, they had eſcaped that night, or the next morning they were to have been ſacrificed to the God of victory; they alſo ſaid, that the *Tlaxcallans* proteſted they would, in the ſame manner, ſacrifice all the bearded men, (ſo they called the *Spaniards*) and all who came with them. Immediately after this, appeared from behind a little hill, about 1000 *Indians*, well armed, after their country manner, advancing with a dreadful yell, and throwing ſtones, darts, and arrows, with great fury; *Cortez* made ſigns of peace to them, and by interpreters deſired them to deſiſt; but they growing more outrageous, the *Spaniards* betook themſelves to their arms, and the fight grew warm on both ſides; at length the *Indians* fled, and the *Spaniards* hot with ſlaughter, purſued very vigorouſly, and fell into an ambuſh of an infinite number of armed *Indians*, who attack'd the horſe, endeavouring to wreſt their lances from them. It is thought the *Spaniards* would have been here defeated, had it not been for their *Indian* friends who came with them from *Zempoalla* and *Zaclotan*. *Cortez*, in this extremity, animated his ſoldiers by his own perſonal courage, heading them with great bravery, until they had fought their way through the whole body of *Indians*, and got into an open place, when they bro't their artillery to play upon the enemy, which ſo terrified and diſcomfited them, that the fled with great precipitation. There were a great many *Indians* ſlain and wounded in theſe two encounters, and ſome of the *Spaniards* were wounded, but none killed. Great were the odds in this battle, an army of 80,000 *Tlaxcallans* againſt 1000 only of *Spaniards* and *Indians* joined together.

After the battle, *Cortez* pitch'd his camp in a village called *Tcoacazinco*, where there was a little tower and a temple, and here they fortify'd themſelves; the enſuing night they enjoyed but little reſt, for fear of a third attack. As ſoon as it was day, *Cortez* ſent a meſſage to the *Tlaxcallans*, requeſting they would let him paſs peaceably through their country on their way to *Mexico*; that they intended to do no injury to them, but were deſirous of entering into a league of amity and friend-

ſhip

ſhip with them. The anſwer returned, was, that ſome of their chiefs would come the next day and confer with them, when they would declare their minds. *Cortez* did not like this anſwer, and therefore, with great prudence, prepared for their reception; beſides, he was informed by ſome priſoners he had taken, that all the power of *Tlaxcalla* was joined together, and that they intended to attack the *ſpaniſh* army the day following, with 150 000 men, threatning to apprehend them all alive, and to make a ſolemn ſacrifice of them to their gods.

The *Tlaxcallan* army conſiſted of four diviſions, to wit, the men of the mountains, the men of the lime-pits, the men of the pine-trees, and the water-men, which made up the whole body of the common-wealth of *Tlaxcalla*: Over theſe were four chiefs, *Tepeticpac*, *Ocotelulco*, *Tizatlan*, and *Quiahuiztlan*. Each of theſe captains had his juſt proportion of men; but *Xicotencatl* was the general of the whole army, who was of the lime-pits; and he had the ſtandard of the common-wealth, which is a crane of gold, with his wings ſpread, and adorned with emeralds and ſilver work. This ſtandard was ſometimes carried before the army, and ſometimes behind them all. *Maxixcazin* was lieutenant-general of the army, which conſiſted of 150,000 men: Theſe ſet themſelves in battle-array againſt 1000 men, *viz.* 400 *Spaniards*, and 600 *Indians* of *Zempoalla* and *Zaclotan*. I have been the more particular in the deſcription of the *Tlaxcallan* army, with their officers; becauſe they afterwards joined the little *ſpaniſh* army, and became their moſt faithful friends and allies, without whoſe aid and aſſiſtance they could never have made a conqueſt of *Mexico*, or maintain'd their ground in *South-America*.

The *Indian* army, in their march, looked like a moving foreſt upon the plains: their weapons and armour, were ſlings, bows and arrows, ſpears, ſtaves, ſplints, gauntlets, corſlets made of cotton wool, targets, and bucklers, made of wood very ſtrong, covered with leather, and trimmed with latten and feathers: Their ſwords were of wood, and the edge thereof was flint-ſtone, curiouſly and artificially encloſed or joined to a ſtaff or piece of tough wood, with a ſort of glue, ſo firm, that it ſcarce ever came aſunder; theſe flints were work'd to ſo keen an edge, that they would cut even iron itſelf; and give deep and dangerous wounds. Their inſtruments of war were horns and drums, called *Atabals*, made like a caldron, and covered with vellum. The *Spaniards* declared, that in all their diſcoveries of *South-America*, they never met with an army ſo well regulated, or in ſo good order. The *Indians* began to banter the *Spaniards*, ſaying, "What a mad people theſe bearded men are, to threaten us "before they know us; but though they have been ſo bold as to invade "our country, it will be no credit to us to attack them whilſt they are "weary; beſides they are come with empty ſtomachs, therefore we "will ſend them ſome refreſhments; after which we will ſeize them, "bind them, and ſacrifice them to our gods." Upon this they ſent to the *Spaniards* 300 turkey-cocks, and 200 baſkets of bread; which was a great ſuccour and comfort to them, who were very much in want of proviſions.

The *Indian* chiefs then ſelected out 2000 of their valianteſt men of war and old ſoldiers, ordering them to go and bind the *Spaniards*, and bring them alive, or, if they reſiſted, to kill them, diſdaining to attack them with

with their whole army, becauſe they ſhould get no honour by it. The 2000 ſoldiers paſſed the trench between the two camps, and came boldly up to the tower where the *Spaniards* had fortified themſelves; upon which they were ſo vigorouſly attack'd by the *ſpaniſh* horſe and foot, that they ſoon fled, and were almoſt all cut to pieces before they could repaſs the aforeſaid trench or ditch. The whole army of *Indians* then began to move towards the *ſpaniſh* camp, but a dreadful ſlaughter was made amongſt them by the playing of the artillery and the *ſpaniſh* muſketry; notwithſtanding, which many of the *Indians* boldly enter'd the camp, and fought for a conſiderable time; at laſt ſeeing their men fall on every ſide, and night approaching, the whole *Indian* army retired into the town; to the great joy of the *Spaniards*, who declared they were weary with killing of *Indians*, and not one *Spaniard* was ſlain. The next morning before day, *Cortez*, leaving half his men to keep the camp, with the reſt made an excurſion into the neighbourhood, and burnt about ten towns, and ſacked one town of near 3000 houſes, the people being gone to the enemy's camp; after he had gather'd together as much plunder as they could conveniently carry away, they ſat fire to the town alſo, and returned to the camp before noon. The *Indians* attack'd them again in their retreat, in hopes to recover ſome of the ſpoil, and even follow'd them up to their camp a ſecond time, where another great ſlaughter was made of them, when they gave over fighting, and the victory remained to the *Spaniards*; the *Indians* crying out they were enchanted, for their arrows could not hurt them.

The next day the *Tlaxcallan* chiefs ſent meſſengers to *Cortez*, with three ſeveral preſents, who thus addreſſed him; 'Behold here five ſlaves, 'and if thou be that rigorous god who eateth man's fleſh, eat thoſe, and 'we will bring thee more: but if thou be a gentle and meek god, behold 'here are frankincenſe and feathers: And if thou be a mortal man, we 'have brought thee fowl, bread, and cherries to eat.' *Cortez* took the laſt, and aſſured them, that he and his were mortal men as well as they; and aſked them why they flatter'd and deceived him, whilſt he told them nothing but the truth, only deſiring their friendſhip, and adviſed them not to be obſtinate and ſtubborn, which would certainly bring on their ruin and deſtruction. It is remarkable, that during this conteſt for fifteen days together, the *Indians* conſtantly ſent to the *Spaniards* cakes of bread, turkey-cocks, and cherries, not out of good-will but policy, to learn what damage was done, and whether the chriſtians intended to proceed or to return from whence they came. But finding by their meſſengers, that the *Spaniards* were neither daunted nor diminiſhed, nor likely to retreat, they at laſt concluded to ſend their general, *Xicotencatl*, to *Cortez*; and accordingly he ſat out, attended by 50 perſons of great authority amongſt them: when they approached the chriſtian camp, they ſaluted the *Spaniards* according to the cuſtom of their country: Salutations over, and both parties being ſeated, *Xicotencatl* firſt began the conference, ſaying, that he was come in his own behalf, and in the behalf of all the noble perſonages, and the whole ſtate and common-wealth of *Tlaxcalla*, to beſeech and pray the *Spaniards* to admit them into their friendſhip and alliance; that they yielded up themſelves and their country to the king

of

of *Spain*; craving pardon for taking up arms againſt them, not knowing who they were, or what they ſought for in their territories; that it was natural for them to defend the entrance of their country againſt ſtrangers, and ſuch ſort of men whom they had never ſeen before, more eſpecially, ſince they ſuſpected the Spaniards were friends to the *Mexicans*, their mortal enemies; that every man of them would rather chuſe to die than to become ſubjects to *Montezuma*; that they eſteemed themſelves as valiant and courageous as their forefathers, who had always reſiſted *Montezuma*'s grandfather and father, who were as powerful as he is now; that they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to have conquered the Spaniards, but could not, finding their ſtrength invincible; and therefore, ſince ſuch was their fate, they rather choſe to become ſubjects to them than to any others, more eſpecially, ſince they ſaw the *Zempoallans* amongſt them, who ſeemed happy and contented: Upon which conſideration, he truſted their liberties would not be diminiſhed, nor their houſes and huſbandry deſtroyed, but rather that their own perſons, their wives and their families would be the better preſerved. At this inſtance the tears trickled down his cheeks; and he beſought *Cortez* to conſider, that *Tlaxcalla* had never yet acknowledged any ſuperior or king; nor at any time had any perſon come among them to command, but only him, whom they did now voluntarily elect and chuſe as their ſuperior and ruler.

Nothing could afford *Cortez* greater pleaſure, than to behold a mighty general, who had under his command 150,000 ſoldiers, thus ſubmitting himſelf; more eſpecially, when he conſidered what an extraordinary advantage muſt attend his future enterprizes, by having ſo potent and warlike a nation in ſubjection to, and alliance with him: He now imagined his principal difficulties were over; and with a courteous and pleaſant countenance, he returned an anſwer to the *Tlaxcallan* general, to the following purpoſe, That the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and the damages which had been done them, were owing to their own obſtinacy, in refuſing him a paſſage through their country, on his way to *Mexico*; that he pardoned their killing his two horſes; that he forgave their treachery and falſhood, in endeavouring to decoy him and his men into their town, and then to ſacrifice them to their gods and ſtupid idols; that all theſe injuries were now intirely forgiven, and ſhould be no more remembered; that he kindly accepted their offer of ſubmiſſion and ſubjection to the king of *Spain*, his royal maſter; and that he would now enter their town in peace and friendſhip, eſteeming them as his faithful allies.

There were at this time in the camp with *Cortez*, ambaſſadors from *Montezuma*, who were very uneaſy on account of this new alliance between the Spaniards and *Tlaxcallans*, and endeavoured to perſuade *Cortez* to give no credit to the declarations of *Xicotencatl*; for that he was full of deceit, and intended only to allure them into the town, and then to murder them. *Cortez* anſwered, that their advice might be probable; but that he was reſolved to try them; and that he was leſs afraid of them in the town than in the field. The ambaſſadors perceiving the Spaniſh general to be firmly fixed in his reſolutions, beſought him to give one of them leave to go to *Mexico*, to inform their emperor *Montezuma*, of the preſent ſituation of affairs, promiſing to return in ſix days with further

further inſtructions, and at the ſame time, they requeſted him to remain in his preſent ſituation until the ambaſſador came back. This requeſt *Cortez* readily granted, and promiſed to wait in his camp the limitted time, inwardly rejoicing, to find the *Mexicans* ſo fearful that this new alliance with the *Tlaxcallans* would be their ruin and deſtruction, as indeed it afterwards proved. The 6th day the ambaſſador returned agreeable to his promiſe, and brought with him ten jewels ſet in gold very curiouſly, as a preſent to *Cortez*; as alſo 15,000 garments of cotton, exceeding fine, together with this meſſage from *Montezuma* to the *Spaniſh* general, "That the emperor earneſtly intreated him not to put too much confidence in the *Tlaxcallans*, who were a faithleſs people, and ſo very poor, that they would even rob him of the preſents he had ſent him; and being jealous of the preſent friendſhip ſubſiſting between himſelf and *Cortez*, he was certain they would murder him upon that account."

At the ſame time the *Tlaxcallans* intreated *Cortez* to march into their town, where he and his army ſhould be well provided for, and taken care of; offering ſuch hoſtages for his ſecurity as he himſelf ſhould deſire; declaring, that the oath and faith of their common-wealth was not to be violated or broken for any conſideration or intereſt whatſoever. *Cortez*'s chief deſign was the conqueſt of *Mexico*, which he knew could never be attained by the diſſembled friendſhip of *Montezuma*, and placing intire confidence in his new allies, the *Tlaxcallans*, mortal enemies to the *Mexicans*, he therefore began his march towards the town of *Tlaxcalla*, in the ſame order as if he had been going to enter the field of battle, having firſt piled up a great heap of ſtones, and erected croſſes at the tower where he had pitch'd his camp, as a memorial of the grand alliance he had entered into with the *Tlaxcallans*, *Zempoallans*, and *Zaclotans*, and which monument I myſelf ſaw when I was there. Multitudes of people came out to meet him, with all the tokens of eſteem and friendſhip that could poſſibly be expreſſed. He was lodged in the greateſt temple, in which were many ſtately apartments, ſufficient for himſelf and all the *Spaniards*: The *Indians* of *Zempoalla* and *Zaclotan* were quartered in other parts of the town. *Cortez* preſcribed certain boundaries to the *Spaniards*, the limits of which he ſtrictly charged not one of them to paſs upon pain of death; and that they ſhould not preſume to plunder, or touch any thing but what was given them; which orders were punctually obeyed: And the *Indians* took care to ſupply them with every thing neceſſary, with all the kindneſs and courteſy due to ſtrangers; nay, they even gave them their daughters, in order to propagate (as they term'd it) a breed of heroes and valiant men; for ſuch they eſteemed the *Spaniards* to be. *Cortez* thus fully aſſured of the faith and confidence of the *Indians*, began to enquire of the power, ſtrength and riches of *Montezuma*; the *Tlaxcallans* ſaid, none were more capable of anſwering thoſe queſtions than themſelves, who had been at war with him, his father, and grandfathers, for above a hundred years; that *Montezuma*'s gold and treaſure was ineſtimable; that his power and dominion extended over the whole kingdom of *Mexico*, and that the forces he could bring into the field were innumerable, as they themſelves had often experienced. *Cortez* told them he was neither diſcouraged at his power, nor the multitude of his forces;

that he intended to march for *Mexico*, and would free the *Tlaxcallans* from his tyranny, and in his way would ſubdue all thoſe towns which were in alliance with the *Mexicans*, and which did annoy them and their common-wealth. They returned him hearty thanks, aſſuring him they would both accompany and aſſiſt him, and for the preſent, offered him twenty thouſand men, entering into a ſolemn league and covenant, never to forſake him. Thus one of the chiefeſt and moſt valiant, though not the richeſt, nations of *South-America*, was ſubdued, and brought under the power and command of the king of *Spain*, whoſe inhabitants adhered moſt faithfully to *Cortez*, without whoſe aſſiſtance he never could have made a conqueſt of *Mexico*; and for which ſervice the *Tlaxcallans* are to this day excuſed from that annual tribute-tax paid by every other *Indian* to the crown of *Spain*; they paying only one corn of maiz or indian wheat, as an acknowledgment of ſubjection.

This great town of *Tlaxcalla* in times paſt was called *Texcalla*, that is to ſay, a valley between two hills. It is ſeated by a river ſide, which ſpringeth out of a hill called *Atlancapetec*, and watereth the moſt part of the province, and emptieth itſelf into the South-ſea by *Zacatullan*. In this town are four ſpacious ſtreets: the firſt is upon a high hill, far from the river, and is called *Tepoticpac*, which ſignifies a hill; and here the people firſt ſettled on high, becauſe of the wars. The ſecond ſtreet was on the hill ſide, near the river; and becauſe a great many pines grew there, they called the ſtreet *Ocotelulco*, which is, a pine-apple-plat; this was a beautiful ſtreet, and the beſt inhabited of all the town; here was the chief market-place, and was formerly ſo famous, that 20,000 perſons came there in one day to buy and ſell, that is, changing one thing for another; for they knew not what money meant before the *Spaniards* came amongſt them. In this ſtreet lived *Maxixca*, the lieutenant-general of all the forces. The third ſtreet was ſituated along the river ſide in the plain, and becauſe there is much lime and chalk, they called it *Tizatlan*, or the lime-pits. In this ſtreet *Xicotencatl*, captain-general of the common-wealth, dwelt. The fourth ſtreet, lying near the brackiſh water, was named *Quiahuiztlan*, or the water-ſtreet. Since the arrival of the *Spaniards*, theſe ſtreets have been better built, with ſtone, and are much more commodious. In the plain, by the river-ſide, ſtands the town-houſe, and other offices, as in the city of *Venice*. The government was ariſtocratical, by the nobleſt and richeſt men: for they would by no means, admit a ſingle perſon to rule them, declaring it ſavour'd too much of tyranny; and they therefore hated *Montezuma* as a tyrant. In the time of war they had always four captains, or head warriors, one of which they choſe captain-general. They had likewiſe ſome under-captains, but not many. In the marching of their army the ſtandard was always carried behind them; but whenever they enter'd into an engagement, the ſtandard moved to ſome eminence, where it might be viewed by the whole army, and whoever did not join it immediately was liable to a certain puniſhment. Their ſtandard was two croſs-bow arrows, which they eſteemed as the reliques of their anceſtors; and was always carried by two of their oldeſt and moſt valiant ſoldiers, the chiefeſt of their captains. This ſuperſtitious ceremony was always obſerved by way of prediction

liction before a battle: They let fly one of these arrows at the first enemies they met, and if it either killed or wounded a person, it presaged a victory; but if it did neither, then they assuredly believed that they should lose the field.

This province or lordship of *Tlaxcalla* consisted of twenty-eight villages and towns, which contained one hundred and fifty thousand householders. They are well-made men, and good warriors, the like not to be found amongst the *Indians*. They are very poor, their riches consisting chiefly in grain and corn, and with the grain and profit thereof, they both cloath themselves, and provide all other necessaries; They have several tradesmen amongst the *Indians*, such as goldsmiths, feather-dressers, barbers, weavers, potters, &c. which last make as good earthen vessels as most in *Europe*. The earth is fat, and fruitful for corn, fruit, and pasture. Within two leagues of the town of *Tlaxcalla* standeth a round hill, which is six miles in its ascent, and five and forty miles in circumference, which is now called *St. Bartholomew*'s hill; but in former times it was called *Matealcucie*, who was their god of water. They had also a god of wine, who was named *Ometochli*, to whom they made many drunken festivals: But their chiefest god was called *Camaxtlo*, whose temple stood in the street *Ocotelulco*; in the which temple there were some years sacrificed above eight hundred persons. There was also formerly in the town a common goal, where felons lay in fetters, and all criminals were punished. During the time *Cortez* was there, a townsman stole from a Spaniard a little gold, whereof *Cortez* complained to *Maxixca*, who forthwith made such enquiry, that the offender was found in *Chololla*, which is another great town five leagues from thence. They brought the prisoner with the gold, and delivered him to *Cortez*, to correct him at his pleasure: But *Cortez* would not concern himself in the affair, returning *Maxixca* thanks for his honesty and diligence. *Maxixca* then ordered the prisoner to be carried through the street, with a crier before him, proclaiming his offence, and in the market-place upon a scaffold, they broke his joints with a club. This piece of justice was well-pleasing to the *Spaniards*, and induced them to place great confidence in their attachment to their interest in their intended conquest of *Mexico* and *Montezuma*.

In the street called *Ocotelulco*, there is now erected a cloister of Franciscan friars, who are the preachers of that town; and they have joining to their cloister a very fair church, to which belong 50 *Indian* singers, organists, players on musical instruments, and trumpeters, who decorate the mass with very pleasant harmonious musick. In this cloister we were entertained a day and two nights with plenty of flesh and fish. The friars are allowed a dozen *Indians* by the town, who are freed from all other services only to fish for them. They change their turns by weeks, four one week and four another; except they be called for upon some special occasion, and then they leave all other work, and attend only with fish upon the friars. The town now is inhabited by *Spaniards* and *Indians* together, and is the seat of a chief officer of justice sent from *Spain* every three years, called *Alcalde-Major*, whose power reacheth to all the towns within twenty leagues. Besides him, the *Indians* have also among themselves,

ſelves, *Alcaldes*, *Regidores*, and *Alguaziles*, ſuperior and inferior officers of juſtice, appointed yearly by the *Alcalde-Major*, who keeps them all in awe, and commands their ſervice at his pleaſure, without paying any thing for it. The hard uſage of this *Alcalde-Major*, and other *Spaniards*, hath much decreaſed that populous town, which ſhould rather have been encreaſed than diminiſhed by the *Spaniards*, who, by their aſſiſtance, gained all the reſt of the country.

CHAP. VI.

The continuation of the miſſionaries journey from Tlaxcalla, *through the city of* Angels, *and* Guacocingo; *with their arrival at the famous city of* Mexico.

THE next remarkable place we met with in our journey, after our departure from *Tlaxcalla*, was the city called by the Spaniards, *La Puebla de los Angelos*, or the *City of Angels*. Our arrival here was the more agreeable; becauſe we were told there was in this city a convent of Dominicans, of our own profeſſion, which we had not met with ſince our departure from *St John de Ulva*. Here we refreſhed ourſelves for three days, and were received very kindly by our brethren, who ſpared no hoſpitality for our entertainment. We took a particular view of this city, judging of the wealth and riches of it, not only by its great trade, but by the many cloiſters of friars and nuns which it maintaineth, who are commonly very burthenſome to the places where they live, being an idle kind of beggars, who make the people believe the ſupporting them is meritorious, and ſaving to their ſouls; and that their prayers for them are more worth than the ſuſtenance they receive from them. There are in that city a very great cloiſter of fifty or ſixty *Dominicans*, another of *Franciſcans*, another of *Mercenarians*, another of *Auguſtines*, another of *Carmelites*, and another of *Jeſuits*, beſides four of *Nuns*. This city is ſeated in a low pleaſant valley, about ten leagues from a very high mountain, which is always covered with ſnow. It ſtandeth twenty leagues from *Mexico*, and was firſt built and inhabited in the year 1530, by the command of Don *Antonio de Mendoza*, Viceroy of *Mexico*, with the conſent of *Sebaſtian Ramirez*, who was a biſhop, and preſident of the chancery of *Mexico*. This city was formerly called by the Indians, *Cuetlaxcoapan*, that is to ſay, a ſnake in the water; becauſe there are in it two fountains, the one of good, the other of bad water. It is now a biſhop's ſee, whoſe yearly revenues, ſince the cutting off *Xalappa de la vera Cruz* from it are yet worth above 20,000 ducats. The city lies in a good and wholeſome air, and daily increaſes in the number of people, who reſort from many other places to live there; but eſpecially in the year 1634, when the city of *Mexico* was in danger of being drowned by the inundation of the lake, multitudes of people left it, and came to reſide with their families in the city of *Angels*, which conſiſteth at leaſt of ten thouſand inhabitants. But what makes this city moſt famous, is the cloth which is made in it, tho't to be as good as moſt in *Europe*. About the place there are many gardens, which ſtore the markets with vegetable proviſions. The ſoil produces wheat in plenty; and there are many ſugar-farms near the city, eſpecially one

one very large one belonging to the Dominicans at *Mexico*, upon which in my time were employed above two hundred men and women negro ſlaves, beſides children.

The chief town between the city of *Angels* and *Mexico*, is called *Guacocingo*, conſiſting of about five hundred *indian* and one hundred *ſpaniſh* inhabitants. Here is alſo a cloiſter of Franciſcans, who entertained us very ſumptuouſly, being fond of ſhewing us the ſkill of their Indians in muſick. Theſe fat luſcious friars, like the reſt, want no proviſion to pamper the body, the food for the ſoul being the leaſt of their care: But the greateſt of their glory, was the education which they had given to ſome children of the town, whom they had brought up to dancing after the Spaniſh faſhion to the muſick of the guittar; about a dozen of them, the oldeſt not above fourteen, diverted us very elegantly till midnight, ſinging both *indian* and *ſpaniſh* ſongs, and capering and dancing with their caſtanets, which not only delighted but ſurprized us; for we tho't theſe Franciſcans might have been more decently employed in the choir at thier devotions, according to their profeſſion; but we found vowed religious duties more and more neglected, and worldly pleaſures too much embraced, by thoſe who had pretended to have forſaken the world, and all its ſports and paſtimes.

The inhabitants of *Guacocingo* alſo enter'd into league with *Hernando Cortez* and the *Spaniards* againſt the *Mexicans*, and were of very great ſervice in that expedition, for which they have many privileges and immunities granted them by the king of *Spain*, being much eſteemed for their great valour in relieving the inhabitants of *Chalco* againſt the ſtrength and power of *Montezuma*, who had iſſued out of *Mexico*, and encloſed that town, to keep the *Spaniards* out of that city.

From *Guacocingo*, we made our laſt journey to the city of *Mexico*, paſſing over the ſide of that high hill which we ſaw from the city of *Angels*, about 30 miles off. Fifteen miles of our way we reckon'd to be up and down this hill, and yet we did not reach the top of it; but from the higheſt part we travelled over, we could plainly diſcover the city of *Mexico*, and the lake about it, which was ten *Engliſh* miles in a plain from the bottom of the mountain. The firſt town we came to below the hill, was *Quahutipec*, near unto which was pitch'd the camp of the *Indians* of *Culhua*, conſiſting of near 100,000 men, who were ſent by the *Mexicans* and *Tezcucans*, to encounter *Cortez*; but all in vain, for his horſemen broke through them, and his artillery made ſuch havock amongſt them, that they were ſoon put to flight. Three leagues from hence on our right hand, and on the ſide of the lake, by the city of *Tezcuco*: *Cortez* found this a great city, almoſt as large as *Mexico*; though he met with no reſiſtance there; for as he was marching towards it, four principal perſons, bearing a rod of gold with a little flag, in token of peace, approached his forces, acquainting them, that their lord had ſent them to deſire the *Spaniards* not to make any ſpoil of his city, or the towns about it; offering lodging to the whole army in the town of *Tezcuco*, where they ſhould be well received. Though *Cortez* ſeemed pleaſed with this ſolemn embaſſy, yet he miſtruſted ſome treachery in the *Tezcucans*, whoſe forces had joined the *Mexicans*; he therefore came to *Quahutipec*, and *Huaxuta*,

(which

(which were then the ſuburbs of the great city of *Tezcuco*, but are now little villages) where he threw down their idols, and found all neceſſary proviſions for his army: He then enter'd the city, and took up his lodgings in a great houſe ſufficient to contain him and all his *Spaniards*, beſides many of his *Indian* friends. And becauſe he found neither women nor children in the city, he ſuſpected deceit, and forthwith proclaimed, upon pain of death, that none of his men ſhould ſtir out of the town. The Spaniards went up into the higheſt buildings of the town, from whence they could ſee the inhabitants flying off with their effects, ſome towards the mountains, but moſt of them upon the lake, where they computed at leaſt twenty thouſand canoes were employed in carrying off houſhold goods and other things; ſo large and numerous at this time was this famous city of *Tezcuco*: *Cortez* was much diſſatisfied at this ſight, but knew not which way to remedy it. He was deſirous of apprehending the lord of the place; but he was fled to *Mexico*.

Theſe Indians of *Tezcuco* (according to the hiſtory of thoſe times) were the firſt who accepted of a Chriſtian king to govern them: For *Cortez* perceiving that their former king, *Coacuacoyocin*, was fled, ſummouſed all the citizens that were left, to meet together, and having in his company a young man of a noble family in that country, who had been lately chriſten'd by the name of *Don Hernando*, *Cortez* being his god-father, recommended him to the *Tezcucans*, for their king, alledging, that their former king having abandoned them in their diſtreſs, was not worthy of further rule, and they knew him to be both a tyrant and a murderer, having put his elder brother, *Cacuza*, to death privately, and ſeized his inheritance and kingdom, by the advice of *Quabutimoccin*, a mortal enemy to the *Spaniards*. By this exhortation he prevailed upon them to elect this new chriſtian, *Don Hernando*, for their king; the news whereof being ſpread abroad, moſt of the inhabitants who had fled for fear of the *Spaniards*, returned to their habitations, and being kindly treated by them, they acknowledged allegiance to the new king, and became good ſubjects, and they with their new king continued faithful friends to the Spaniards in their wars againſt Mexico; and *Don Hernando* in a ſhort time learned the Spaniſh tongue.

Two days after Don *Hernando* was appointed king of this great city, and territory belonging to it, (whoſe borders reached to *Tlaxcalla*) certain chiefs of *Quabutipec* and *Huaxuta* came to inform him, that the power of *Mexico* was marching towards them; and in this extreme danger they deſired to know his pleaſure, whether they ſhould carry their families and effects into the mountains, or bring them into the city of *Tezcuca*, where the king reſided. *Cortez*, in behalf of the king, his godchild and favourite, made anſwer; bidding them have courage, and to fear nothing, requeſting them not to move their families and effects; for that he was glad of the enemy's approach, and they ſhould ſoon ſee how he would deal with them. He then marched out to meet the enemy, and engaged them; but the battle was ſoon over; for the Mexicans fled to their canoes upon the lake, and made off without any great ſlaughter being made by the Spaniards. Upon this ſucceſs ſeveral provinces ſubmitted to *Cortez*, ſome for fear of deſtruction, and others out of hatred to the Mexicans.

That

That the city of *Tezcuca* and its territory was very large and populous at the time of the conqueſt, may be aſcertained by its ſupplying above a hundred thouſand men with proviſions during the time Cortez was preparing for the ſiege of Mexico: And we were greatly ſurprized to find it diminiſhed in about one hundred years, to ſo ſmall a government, from a potent kingdom, that the revenue at this day doth not amount to above a thouſand ducats a year; ſuch a terrible deſtruction hath been made of the poor Indians by the Spaniards, againſt all faith and treaties, and even in cool blood; inſomuch that this city of Tezcuco now conſiſts of about a hundred Spaniards and three hundred Indian inhabitants, who ſupport themſelves chiefly by gardening, and ſupplying the markets of Mexico with herbs and ſallads.

At the end of this plain we paſſed through Mexicalcingo, formerly alſo a great town, but now not above a hundred inhabitants in it: From thence we came to Guetlavac, a ſmall village, but a very pleaſant one; the citizens of Mexico having erected there many ſtately houſes and gardens, abounding with fruit-trees, for their pleaſure and recreation; lying at the foot of the cauſeway, which reaches from this town along the lake about five Engliſh miles to the city of Mexico. Upon the third day of *October*, 1625, we enter'd into the famous city of *Mexico*, but made no ſtop (only paſſing through it) until we came to a houſe of recreation ſtanding amongſt the gardens in the way to *Chapultepac*, named *St. Jacintho*, belonging to the Dominicans of *Manilla*, in the *Eaſt Indies*, to which our miſſion was intended. Here we took up our abode till after *Candlemas-day*, when we were to embark at Acapulco for Manila, the chief town of the Philippine Iſlands.

CHAP. VII.

The deſcription of St. Jacintho, *and the entertainment the miſſionaries met with there: As alſo the deſcription of ancient* Mexico, *before the conqueſt by the* Spaniards; *their religion, manners, idols, temples, palaces, houſes, and gardens, with the merchandize trade, ingenuity, and temper of the native* Indians.

IT hath been no ſmall piece of policy in the friars and jeſuits of *Manila* and the *Philippine* Iſlands, to provide near *Mexico*, houſes and gardens for ſuch miſſionary prieſts as they yearly tranſport from *Spain* to thoſe parts: For if theſe miſſionaries did not meet with places of refreſhment and recreation, to nouriſh and divert them after ſuch a tedious voyage from *Spain* by ſea to *Vera-Cruz*, and ſo fatiguing a journey by land of near 300 miles from thence to *Mexico*, they would be diſcouraged from attempting a ſecond voyage upon the South-ſea to *Manila*, and the *Philippine* Iſlands; but would rather think of returning to *Spain*, or of concealing themſelves in ſome part of the continent of *America*, as myſelf and five more of my brethren did, to the no ſmall mortification of our ſuperior friar *Calvo*, and others, who were our tutors and conductors. Therefore, that all ſuch miſſionaries who come from *Spain* to *Mexico*, and are to be ſhipped again at *Acapulco* for the *Philippines*, may meet with the greateſt encouragement, refreſhment and recreation during their

their abode at Mexico, the *Philippine* friars and jeſuits have provided near the ſaid city of Mexico, convenient houſes and beautiful gardens, for the entertainment of their miſſionaries, which are exempted from the power and command of the ſuperiors of Mexico, and are ſubordinate only to the government of the provincials of the *Philippines*, who ſend from thence their ſubſtitute vicars, to rule and take care of the houſes and gardens.

To the Dominicans belonged the houſe called *St. Jacintho*, whither we were carried, and where we continued about five months, having every thing provided for us fit and neceſſary for our ſuſtenance and recreation, and for our better encouragement to a ſecond voyage by ſea. The gardens belonging to this houſe contained about 15 acres, divided into pleaſant ſhady walks, encompaſs'd with lemon and orange trees, intermixed with pomegranates, figs, grapes, pine-apples, and all other fruits that were to be found in Mexico. The herbs, ſallads, and other vegetables, with which the ſaid gardens abounded, produced a large annual income; a cart being every day loaded therewith, and ſent to the market of Mexico; and this not only at certain ſeaſons of the year, as in *England*, and other parts of *Europe*, but at all times and ſeaſons, both winter and ſummer; there being no difference of heat, cold, froſt and ſnow, but the ſame temper during the whole year, the winter differing only from the ſummer by the rain that falls, and not by exceſſive froſts.

Theſe were the enjoyments we received without doors; and within, we were accommodated with all ſorts and varieties of fleſh and fiſh. What we chiefly wonder'd at was, the abundance of ſweetmeats, eſpecially conſerves, which were provided for us: For every monday morning, during the time of our abode there, half a dozen boxes of conſerve of quinces and other fruits, beſides biſkets, were brought and delivered to each of us. Theſe were given us to ſtay our ſtomachs in a morning and at other times of the day, in which we found a great difference between *Europe* and that country: For in *Europe*, a man's ſtomach will hold out from meal to meal; but in Mexico, and other parts of *South-America*, we found that two or three hours after making a hearty meal of three or four ſeveral diſhes, ſuch as beef, veal, mutton, kid, turkeys, or other fowls, our ſtomachs would faint; inſomuch that we were obliged to ſupport them either with a cup of chocolate, or a bit of biſket or conſerve, which for that purpoſe were allowed us in great abundance: This was ſtrange to me, becauſe the meat, (except the beef) ſeemed to the eye as fat, fair, and wholeſome as any I have ſeen in *Europe*; therefore to ſatisfy my curioſity, I had recourſe to a doctor of phyſick, who cleared my doubt with this anſwer; That though the meat we eat was as fair to look on as any in *Spain*, yet the ſubſtance and nouriſhment thereof came far ſhort of it, by reaſon of the paſture, which is drier, and hath not the change of ſprings which the paſtures of *Europe* have; and therefore the graſs is ſhort, light, and ſoon withers away: And ſecondly, he told me that the climate of thoſe parts had this effect, to produce a fair ſhow, but little matter or ſubſtance. He likewiſe ſaid, that all the fruits in thoſe parts were moſt fair and beautiful to behold, moſt ſweet and luſcious to the taſte, but had little virtue or nouriſhment in them. This we found

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true by experience, which taught us, that there was little ſubſtance and virtue in the great abundance and variety we there enjoyed, our ſtomachs witneſſing the truth, by almoſt continually craving food.

Whilſt we remained at *St. Jacintho* we were never denied the liberty of going to viſit the city of *Mexico*, which was not two miles from us; it was a pleaſant walk for us in the morning, the way lying by arches made of ſtone, to convey the water from *Chapultepac* (about three miles diſtance) into the city: We generally ſtayed in town all day, and returned home at night. And I ſhall now oblige the reader with ſuch a deſcription of the city itſelf and of its inhabitants both in former and preſent times, as I could learn from a diligent enquiry for about the ſpace of five months continuance amongſt them.

The ſituation of this city is much like that of *Venice*, being built upon a lake, one part whereof is ſtanding water; the other ebbeth and floweth, according as the wind blows.

The water of the ſtanding part of the lake is wholeſome, freſh, and ſweet, yielding ſtore of fiſh: That part which ebbeth and floweth, is a ſaltiſh, bitter, and peſtiferous water, in which is no kind of fiſh, ſmall or great. The freſh water is higher than the other, and falleth into it, but reverteth not backwards as ſome conceive it doth. The ſalt lake is about fifteen miles long, fifteen broad, and upwards of forty-five in circuit; the freſh-water lake is about the ſame demenſions; ſo that the whole lake is near a hundred miles in circumference. The *Spaniards* are divided in opinion concerning this lake and the ſprings of it; but whatſoever the true reaſon may be, there is not the like known, of freſh and ſalt water, one part breeding fiſh, the other not.

This lake had formerly fourſcore towns, (ſome ſays more) ſituated round about it, many of them containing five thouſand houſes and ſome ten thouſand, and *Tezcuco* was as big as *Mexico*. But when I was there, the towns and villages about the lake did not exceed thirty, and ſcarce any of them conſiſted of above five hundred houſes between *Spaniards* and *Indians*; ſuch has been the hard uſage of the *Spaniards* towards them, who have even almoſt conſumed that poor nation. Nay, two years before I came away from thoſe parts, which were the years 1635 and 1636, I was credibly informed, a million of *Indians* had loſt their lives in endeavouring, by order of the *Spaniards*, to turn the water of the lake another way from the city, which was performed by cutting a way through the mountains, to avoid the great inundations which *Mexico* was ſubject unto; for in the year 1634 the waters roſe ſo high, that they threatened deſtruction to the whole city.

The city of *Mexico*, when the *Spaniſh* general, *Cortez*, firſt entered it after the conqueſt, contained about eighty thouſand houſes. The palace of the emperor *Montezuma* (in the *Indian* language called *Tepac*) had twenty doors or gates which opened into the common ſtreets of the city; there were three courts (in one of which ſtood a fine fountain) alſo ſeveral halls, and a hundred chambers of twenty-three and thirty foot long, and a hundred baths and hot-houſes: The walls were of wrought marble, jaſper, and other black ſtone, with veins of red, glittering like rubies; the roofs were of cedar, cypreſs, and pine, curiouſly

carved; and all joined together without nails: the chambers were painted, and hung with cloth of cotton, and of feathers: The beds only were unbecoming this great state, very poor and of no value, being no more than mantles laid upon mats, or upon hay. Within this palace the emperor maintained a thousand women (nay some affirm three thousand, reckoning gentlewomen, servants and slaves) the chiefest of which were principal *Indian*'s daughters; and it is credibly reported, that a hundred and fifty of his wives were with child by him at one time; his wives and concubines were guarded by old women; for no man durst presume to look upon them.

He had another house with very curious lodgings and stately galaries built upon pillars of jasper, which looked towards a beautiful garden, in which were at least a dozen ponds, some of salt-water for sea-fowls, and other of fresh water for river and lake fowls; which ponds were contrived with sluices to empty and fill at pleasure, for the cleansing the fowls feathers: These fowls were so numerous that the ponds could scarce contain them, and of such different sorts and beautiful and various coloured feathers, that most of them the *Spaniards* did not know, nor had ever seen the like. To this house belonged three hundred servants, who had the care and charge of these fowls; some cleansed the ponds, others served them with such meat as they used to feed on in fields and rivers, some trimmed their feathers, others took care of their eggs, and to set them a brood; but the principal office was to pluck the feathers, of which they made rich mantles, tapestry, targets and many other curious works.

Montezuma had also another house in *Mexico*; in the highest rooms whereof he kept such men, women, and children as were dwarfs, crook-back'd or monstrous persons, as also those who were born of a white colour, which happened very seldom: And such was the superstition of some of his subjects, that they would deform their children purposely to have them carried to the king's house, to gratify his extravagant humour by their deformity. In some of the lower apartments were cages for fowls of rapine, such as hawks, kites, *&c.* In other apartments, in cages made of timber were kept lions, tygers, ounces, wolves, and many uncommon four-footed beasts; and these were daily fed with turkeys, deer, dogs, &c. In another apartment were fixed great earthen vessels, some containing a large quantity of earth, and others a large quantity of water; in these were kept great snakes, vipers, crocodiles (which the natives call caymans) of twenty foot long, besides many other smaller lizards, venomous beasts, and serpents, both of the water and land: These monstrous creatures were usually fed with the blood of men sacrificed, and sometimes they gave them man's flesh to eat, which the great lizards or caymans devoured very greedily. The falconers, huntsmen, and other servants attending this house were upwards of one thousand. The roaring of the lions, the hissing of the snakes and serpents, the howling and barking of the wolves, the sorrowful yelling of the tygers and ounces in the night time, was a faint representation of the infernal regions: And yet in this dreadful place (horrible to conceive) a heathen prince could pray to his gods and idols. For adjoining to this apartment was a spacious chapel of one hundred

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and fifty foot long and thirty foot broad, the roof of silver and gold in leaf, wainscoted, and deck'd with pearls and precious stones, such as agats, emeralds, and rubies; and this was the oratory where *Montezuma* prayed in the night season.

The emperor had also an armory, in which was great store of all sorts of instruments which they used in their wars, as bows, arrows, slings, launces, darts, clubs, swords, bucklers, and targets made of wood, very hard and strong, and covered with gilt leather. At the end of their arrows they fixed a small piece of sharp flint, or a piece of the bone of a certain fish called *Libisa*, which was so venemous, that if any man was wounded so deeply by it that the head remained in the flesh, it would fester to that degree, as to render it almost incurable.

Besides the houses already mentioned, *Montezuma* had many others only for his recreation and pastime, adorned with beautiful gardens, medicinal herbs, sweet flowers, and trees of a most delectable flavour; and in one garden more especially, there were a thousand images artificially wrought of leaves and flowers. Without the city he had orchards with many and sundry fruits, also pleasure-houses, with woods and forrests of great compass; in which were fountains, rivers, fish-ponds, and harbours and coverts for harts, bucks, hares, foxes, wolves, *&c.* To these places he himself seldom went, but the nobles and lords of *Mexico* frequently repaired thither to sport and hunt. Such, and so many, were the palaces and houses of pleasure of this great heathen emperor, that they are wonderful to relate, wherein few kings were equal to him: And what is still more admirable, all these works cost him nothing; for he had certain towns which paid no tribute; but were obliged to build and keep in repair all his palaces, houses, and gardens of pleasure, at their own proper costs; and also to furnish him with all the wood which should be used in his court.

He had daily attending upon him as his body guard, six hundred noblemen and gentlemen; each of which had three or four servants; and the nobility had generally twenty or more servants attending them, according to their degree. These made a court of upwards of three thousand men, which were daily fed with the meat that came from his table †

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† De Solis (*a* Spanish *author*) *writes, That* Montezuma *eat alone, but in great state, having above two hundred dishes at his table, which were distributed among the nobility in waiting when he had done with them: That the king sat at table on a little stool, and the room was divided in the middle, to keep off the crowd: Three or four of the eldest courtiers waited within the rail, and near it stood an officer to receive the dishes, which were brought in by young ladies richly dressed. The dishes, which were of fine earthen ware, and the table linnen, were every day distributed among the servants, being never used twice. He drank out of golden cups frequently, a privilege never allowed to any of his subjects; tho' he sometimes drank out of the shell of a cocoa-nut, or other natural shells. Three or four buffoons generally attended his table, not only to divert him with their impertinence, but to acquaint him with such affairs that others durst not name: For this prince seldom appeared in publick, and when he permitted any to petition him, they were not suffered to look him in the face.*

Three thouſand lords of towns were in ſubjection to the *Mexican* empire, thirty of whom were of ſo much power, that each of them could bring into the field, upon occaſion, one hundred thouſand warriors. All theſe noblemen were obliged to attend the court of *Montezuma*, at certain times, from whence they durſt not depart, without the ſpecial leave of the emperor; and even then they always left behind them a ſon or a brother, as a hoſtage or ſecurity againſt rebellion.

There were two particular ſtreets in *Old Mexico*, very ſpacious and large; the one was all water, or a canal, over which were many bridges; the other, half water and half land, and the houſes were placed between both, one door opening to the land, and the other to the water; ſo that proviſions might be brought by water to their own doors, and they might there alſo take boat, and go wherever they pleaſed. But this water, tho' ſo near their houſes, was not wholſome and fit for uſe; and therefore water freſh and ſweet, which ſpringeth out of a little hill at a place called *Chapultepec*, three miles diſtant from the city, was brought in two pipes built upon arches of brick and ſtone, like a bridge; and when one pipe grows foul, the water is convey'd into the other until the firſt can be made clean. From this fountain, the whole city is, to this day, ſupplied with water; and certain people ſell the ſame from ſtreet to ſtreet, ſome in little boats, others in earthen veſſels, upon mules and aſſes backs.

The conveniency of the lake about this city, gave great encouragement to the *Mexicans* to provide a moſt ſpacious market-place, whither all the country round about might reſort, to buy, ſell, and exchange; and what rendered this market the more commodious, was the great number of ſmall boats employed in that lake, which were above two hundred thouſand, by the *Indians* called *Acalles*, and by the *Spaniards*, Canoes; which were bigger or leſſer, according to the largeneſs of the body of the tree of which they were made; and on market days the water-ſtreets were full of them. The great or chief market-place in the city of *Mexico*, which was encloſed and encompaſs'd about with doors, was ſo wide and large, that frequently a hundred thouſand people came there to buy and ſell, being the principal city of the kingdom. Every fourth day was the great market ordinarily. Every kind of merchandize had its proper place or ſtand appointed, which no others might by any means occupy or diſturb. In one place were ſold ſtone, brick, lime, and other neceſſaries for building; in another coals, wood, and all ſorts of earthen veſſels, glazed and painted very curiouſly; here you might purchaſe deer-ſkins both raw and tanned, in the hair or without hair, alſo ſkins of other beaſts; but the richeſt merchandize were mantles of cotton-wool of divers colours, both great and ſmall; ſome for beds, ſome for garments and cloathing, and others for tapeſtry hangings; alſo mantles made of the leaves of a tree called *Mete*, of the Palm-tree, and of the fur of rabbits, which were well eſteemed, being very warm: Here was alſo ſold cotton cloth for drawers, (which the *Indians* uſe to this day) as alſo for ſhirts, table-cloths, towels, *&c.* But the coverlids made of feathers, were the beſt; and the great number of fowls daily brought to this market, were inconcieveable; which were bought

bought not for ſake of the meat, but the feathers: For the moſt delightſome part of the whole market, was the place where gold and feathers jointly work'd, were ſold; the *Indians* being ſo expert and perfect in this ſcience, that they would work or make a butterfly, any wild beaſt, trees, roſes, flowers, herbs, roots, or any other thing, ſo lively, that it was admirable to behold: And many times one of theſe artiſts would ſet a whole day only to place a ſingle feather in its due perfection, turning and toſſing it in the light of the ſun, then in the ſhade, to find out its natural poſition; and till his work was finiſhed, he would neither eat nor drink. In this market they ſold gold, ſilver, copper, lead, and tin, pearls, precious ſtones, ſundry ſorts of ſhells, bones, ſponges, and pedlars ware. There was alſo a market for vegetables, in which were ſold all ſorts of greens, herbs, roots, and ſeeds, as well for eating as for medicines; both men, women, and children underſtood the nature of vegetables, their poverty and neceſſity obliging them to ſeek in the fields both ſuſtenance and relief in their infirmities and diſeaſes; for they ſpent very little upon phyſicians, though there were ſome of that profeſſion amongſt them: But they had many apothecaries, who brought into the market ointments, ſyrups, diſtill'd waters, and drugs fit for ſick perſons: They cured almoſt all diſeaſes with herbs, and have a proper herb for deſtroying lice, and ſuch-like vermin. In the meat-market was ſold veniſon, hares, rabbits, dogs, moles, rats, ſnakes without head and tail, and many other beaſts. In the fruit-market the great ſtore of different ſorts, both green and ripe, was ſurprizing; the cocoa nut ſerved them inſtead of money; of the larger ſort a hundred and twenty, and of the leſſer ſort, two hundred were equal to a *Spaniſh* ryal, which is Six-pence ſterling; and with theſe the *Indians* buy whatever they pleaſe. But one ſtrange ſort of proviſion bro't to this market, were cakes, made in the following manner: The *Indians*, at a particular ſeaſon of the year, gather a certain ſcum or mud, which ariſes upon the lake of *Mexico*; this they lay in heaps to dry, then they knead it into cakes in the ſhape of bricks, which the natives eat with as good a gouſt as we do cheeſe; alledging, that this ſcum, or fatneſs of the water, is the cauſe of bringing ſuch a great Number of fowls to the lake, which, in the winter ſeaſon, are innumerable.

All theſe things, and many more too tedious to recite, were ſold in this great market of *Mexico*; and the people paid a certain duty or cuſtom, to the king, for their ſhops and ſtalls, for which alſo they were to be defended from thieves and robbers; and for this purpoſe certain officers uſed to patrole about the market, to clear the ſame of idle vagabonds and pilferers. They made uſe of weights and meaſures in their markets, and if any of them were found to be falſe, or not agreeable to the ſtandard, they were immediately broke to pieces, and the offenders ſeverely puniſhed.

In the midſt of this ſpacious place, and in full view of the whole market, was a large building as a town-hall, wherein commonly ſate twelve ancient men, as judges of all matters of law and controverſy.

Of all the artificers and manufacturers they had amongſt them, the gold-ſmiths were the moſt curious: They would caſt a diſh in a mould, with

with eight corners to it, of different ſorts of metals, as gold, ſilver, copper, tin, *&c.* in one ſolid piece, without ſolder. They would alſo caſt a fiſh of metal, with one ſcale of ſilver, and the other of gold: They would make a parrot, or popingay, of metal, ſo curiouſly, that his tongue ſhould ſhake, his head move, and his wings flutter. The vicercy of *Mexico*, (who went over in the year 1625, the ſame year that I went thither) cauſed a popingay (a bird about the bigneſs of a pheaſant) to be made of ſilver, gold, and precious ſtones, with ſuch lively colours of the popingay's feathers, and with ſuch exquiſite art and perfection, that it was valued for its riches and workmanſhip, at half a million of ducats. This he made a preſent of to the king of Spain. There is now hanging in the church of the cloiſter of the Dominicans in *Mexico*, a lamp with three hundred branches wrought in ſilver, to hold as many candles, beſides a hundred ſmaller lamps for oil, each of which is wrought with ſuch curious art and workmanſhip, that it is valued at four hundred thouſand ducats.

The antient *Mexicans* knew not the true God, but worſhipped idols; and dedicated their Temples and places of worſhip to idols, and to the devil. The temple is called in the Mexican language *Teucalli*, which is a compound word, of *Teutl*, which ſignifieth God, and *Calli*, which ſignifieth a houſe. There were in old *Mexico*, many of theſe temples, with chapels and altars, where their images and idols were placed. All theſe temples were of one faſhion; the like, I believe, have never been ſeen or heard of before; and therefore I will give you a particular deſcription of their great and chiefeſt temple, which ſtood in the city of *Mexico*. This temple was ſquare and made of ſtone, with four doors, which opened into four of the principal ſtreets: It was three hundred foot ſquare at the baſis, and raiſed upwards like one of the pyramids of *Egypt*, only the top was not ſharp, but plain and flat, and ſixty foot ſquare; it was built of earth and ſtone: Upon the weſt ſide they aſcended to the top by one hundred and fourteen high ſteps made of good ſtone. It was a ſurpriſing ſight to behold the prieſts going up and down, uſing their idolatrous ceremonies, and with men to be ſacrificed. Upon the top of this temple were two great altars, oppoſite to each other, and placed ſo near the brink of the wall, that no perſon could go behind them without danger, and here was a plot or ſpace for the prieſts to celebrate their ſervice without diſturbance: Theſe altars were five feet high, and upon each was fixed a great idol, and the back part was made of ſtone, painted with monſtrous deformed figures. The chapels were curiouſly built of maſon-work and timber, and every chapel had three ſtories, ſuſtained by pillars, which being high and lofty, appeared like ſo many fair towers, and added a great luſtre to the city at a diſtance: From theſe towers a perſon might overlook the whole city, and take a view of all the cities and towns round-about the lake, which was undoubtedly a delightful proſpect. To this temple the emperor *Montezuma* carried *Cortez* and the *Spaniards* at their firſt arrival, ſhewing them all the riches and curioſities thereof from the bottom to the top, to make the greater oſtentation of his grandeur, and the majeſty of his court. The entrance of the temple had a door made like unto the mouth

mouth of a ſerpent, painted with horrid geſtures, as great and monſtrous teeth and gums, with deſign to ſtrike an awe and terror into thoſe who entered into the temple. So great was this temple for the ſervice of the devil. that in the cloiſters thereof there conſtantly reſided five thouſand prieſts; for the temple was immenſely rich, having the revenues of divers towns aſſigned for its ſupport; the inhabitants whereof raiſed corn, and maintained theſe five thouſand prieſts with bread, fleſh, fiſh, and fire-wood, of which they conſumed more than was expended in the king's court, living at their eaſe as ſervants to the gods of *Mexico*, which were two thouſand in number; the chiefeſt of which were *Vitzilopuchtli* and *Tezcatlipuca*, whoſe images ſtood higheſt in the temple upon the altars. They were made of ſtone in full proportion as large as a giant, and beſet with pearls, precious ſtones, and pieces of gold, work'd like birds, beaſts, fiſhes and flowers; ſo that when the lawn which covered them was taken off, the images made a beautiful and glorious appearance. *Tezcatlipuca* was the god of providence, and *Vitzilopuchtli* the god of war, and this laſt deity had greater worſhip paid him, and was more feared than the others. There was another god, who had a great image placed upon the top of the chapel of idols, who was eſteemed a ſpecial and ſingular god; this god was made of all kinds of ſeeds growing in that country, which being ground, they made thereof a certain paſte, tempered with children's blood, and virgins ſacrificed, whoſe breaſts were opened with raſors, their hearts taken out, and offered as firſt fruits unto the idol, which was formed of the above horrible compoſition. The prieſts conſecrated this idol with a ſingular pomp and many ceremonies. All the citizens attended this conſecration with great triumph and incredible devotion; after which many devout perſons ſtuck in this image of dough, precious ſtones, wedges of gold, and other jewels; and after this pomp was ended, no ſecular man might touch that holy image, nor even come into his chapel. The prieſts uſed often to renew this image of dough, becauſe at every conſecration they exhauſted the devotees of their jewels and gold; and then happy was he who could procure a piece of the cloathing or of the old dough of the former deity, for which the ſoldiers uſed to ſtrive inceſſantly; becauſe a ſuperſtition prevailed amongſt them, that it would render them invulnerable in battle. At the conſecration of this idol, a certain veſſel of water was bleſſed with many ſuperſtitious words and ceremonies; and this water was preſerved very religiouſly at the foot of the altar, to conſecrate the king at his coronation; and alſo to bleſs any of their generals when they marched forth to war, by giving them a draught of that water.

Over againſt the principal door of the temple, and about a ſtone's caſt diſtance, ſtood a charnel-houſe of dead men's heads, priſoners in war, and ſacrificed with the knife. This monument was built like a theatre, with aſcending ſteps; and between every ſtone a ſkull was fixed with the teeth outwards; at each end of this charnel-houſe was a tower compoſed only of lime and ſkulls, which being fixed with the teeth outwards made a ſhocking and ghaſtly appearance. Upon the top of this monument were fixed a great number of poles about four or

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five foot diſtance from each other, which were full of ſtaves from the bottom to the top, and each of theſe ſtaves had five ſkulls affixed to it, being broached through the temples. When the *Spaniards* firſt entered into *Mexico* as friends, before the death of *Montezuma*, they viſited this monument, and in what they have written, and tranſmitted to poſterity, it is recorded, that *Andrew de Tapia*, and *Gonzalo de Umbria*, attempted to number the ſculls; and that they counted a hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand of them, upon the poles and about the charnel-houſe.

But the whole city of *Mexico*, with all the emperor's palaces, houſes, and fine gardens, the temples, idols, monuments, and ſpacious market-place, were utterly deſtroyed by the *Spaniards*, at the conqueſt thereof.

CHAP. VIII.

The origin of the ancient MEXICANS; *their kings*; *and of the conqueſt thereof by the* Spaniards; *with the death of the emperor* Montezuma.

THE moſt received opinion amongſt the *Spaniards* is, that the *Mexicans* were firſt the inhabitants of *Nova Galicia*; from whence they made a violent irruption in the year 720, and ſcatter'd about till the year 902; when, under the command of *Mexi*, their chief captain, they built this city, and called it after the name of their general. They conſiſted of ſeven tribes, who ruled long in an ariſtocratical ſtate, till the moſt puiſſant of the tribes, called *Nevatalcas*, elected a king, to whom they ſubmitted: The firſt king thus elected, was called *Vitzilovitli*; the ſecond, *Acamopitzli*; the third, *Chimalpapoca*; the fourth, *Izchoalt*; the fifth, *Montezuma* the firſt; the ſixth, *Acacis*; the ſeventh, *Axaiaca*; the eighth, *Autzlol*; the ninth, *Montezuma* the 2d, who reigned when *Cortez* firſt arrived; and the tenth, *Quahutimoc*; who loſt *Mexico*, and in whom ended that *Indian* empire. The moſt ſucceſsful and warlike of theſe kings, was *Izchoalt*, who, by the conduct of his couſin *Tlacaellec*, ſubdued the other ſix tribes, and brought them under the *Mexican* government. After the death of *Izchoalt*, *Tlacaellec* was, by the firſt electors (who were ſix in number) choſen king, he being a perſon whoſe courage and virtue they had long experienced. But he refuſed the crown, ſaying, he rather choſe to remain general of the forces, than to take the burthen of the government upon him; and thought he could ſerve them much more to their advantage in the former capacity: Upon which generous refuſal, they made choice of *Montezuma* the firſt. The moſt unhappy, and moſt unfortunate kings of this nation were the two laſt, *Montezuma* the ſecond, and *Quahutimoc*: The firſt of whom was taken out of his own palace by *Ferdinando Cortez*; who, with many fair ſpeeches, and flattering language, carried him to his own apartment in *Mexico*, and there put him in irons, until the execution of *Qualpopoca*, lord of *Nahutlan*, (condemned to be burnt to death for killing 9 *Spaniards*) was performed.

This impriſonment of their emperor ſo enraged the *Mexicans*, that they roſe in arms againſt the *Spaniards*, with whom they maintained a moſt furious battle for three whole days, and threatning to put the

Spaniards

Spaniards to the moſt cruel death, that men ever ſuffered, if their emperor was not ſet at liberty. Upon which *Cortez* deſired *Montezuma* to go up to the top of the houſe (which they were battering with ſtones) to appeaſe the people, and to command them to deſiſt from their heat and fury; which the King accordingly did; and beginning to talk to the multitude, ſuch was their exaſperated and ungovernable rage, that they ſtill threw ſhowers of ſtones, notwithſtanding they ſaw their king expoſed to danger, one of which ſtruck *Montezuma* ſo violent a blow upon the temples, that he immediately fell down dead, and thus he received his death by his own ſubjects and vaſſals, in the city of his greateſt glory, whilſt he was in the power and cuſtody of a ſtrange nation. The *Indians* affirm, that he was of the higheſt blood of any of the tribes, and the greateſt and richeſt king that ever reigned in *Mexico*.

After the death of *Montezuma*, the *Indians* choſe *Quahutimoc* for their emperor. And they attacked the *Spaniards* again with ſo much courage and intrepidity, that they obliged *Cortez* and his forces to quit the city of *Mexico*, and retreat to *Tlaxcalla*; where having again ſtrengthened himſelf, he laid ſiege to *Mexico* both by land and water, whereby they reduced the *Mexicans* both by hunger and ſickneſs to the greateſt neceſſity; yet though they ſaw their emperor's fine palaces, and the greateſt part of their city, in flames, and beat down to the ground, they would not ſurrender, ſo long as they had one ſtreet, tower, or temple to retreat to, from whence they might defend themſelves and annoy the *Spaniards*. In vain did *Cortez* call out to them to yield, offering them kind uſage: They told him not to talk of friendſhip to them, nor hope to enrich himſelf with their ſpoil; for when they could hold out no longer, they would either burn all their treaſure, or throw it into the lake, that the *Spaniards* ſhould reap no profit thereby; and that they would continue fighting as long as one man remained alive.

Cortez deſirous to know what part of the city ſtill remained unconquered, went up into a high tower, to take a view thereof, and conjectured that about an eighth part was yet to be ſubdued; upon which he renewed the aſſault. The poor citizens bewailing their unfortunate fate and calamities, beſeeched *Cortez* to kill them out of hand, crying out, *Oh! capt.* CORTEZ, *ſeeing that thou art the child of the ſun, why doſt thou not intreat the ſun, thy father, to make an end of us? Oh thou ſun, that canſt go round the world in a day and a night, we pray thee make an end of us, and take us out of this miſerable life; for we deſire death, to go and reſt with our god* QUETCAVATLH, *who tarrieth for us.*

Cortez pitying the calamities of theſe wretched people, ſent a meſſage to the emperor *Quahutimoc*, exhorting him to conſider the great extremity his ſubjects were reduced to, and to accept of peace; aſſuring him their diſtreſſes would increaſe more and more, inſomuch that they would all inevitably periſh. But the ſtubborn monarch, as ſoon as he heard of the embaſſy, cauſed the ambaſſador to be immediately ſacrificed, and beat off the retinue with ſtones and arrows, ſaying, they deſired death, and no peace. *Cortez* finding the emperor ſo refractory, made a general attack, both by land and water, but met with little or no reſiſtance, the unhappy *Indians* being ſo reduced by famine and ſick-

neſs, that they were not able to defend themſelves: And when it was thought there could not be above five thouſand perſons left in the city, conſidering the heaps of dead bodies lying in the ſtreets and houſes, there were upwards of 40,000 *Indians* ſlain and taken priſoners that day.

Cortez was in hopes of making an end of the war the next day; and having intelligence that the emperor intended to eſcape in the morning in a canoe with twenty oars, as ſoon as day appeared, he repaired with his men, and four pieces of ordnance to a corner of the city, where he ſhut up the poor *Mexicans* like cattle in a pound. He then gave orders to *Sandoval* and *Alvarado*, two of his officers, to be ready with their ſmall veſſels, called vergantines, which he had cauſed to be built upon the lake, and carefully to watch the coming out of the canoes; and more particularly to take care not to hurt the emperor's perſon, but to take him alive. He next commanded the remainder of the forces to make an attack upon the people, in order to force out the canoes; whereupon a multitude of people, men, women and children, crowded out ſo faſt to get into their boats, that numbers of them were drowned in the lake. *Cortez* commanded his ſoldiers, to ſpare the poor miſerable wretches, and not to murder them; but in vain, for the fury of the *Tlaxcallan* and other *Indians*, was ſo implacable, that they ſlew and ſacrificed above fifteen thouſand. The chief of the nobility of *Mexico* had embarked with the king, who came out with a great fleet of canoes; but the vergantines preſently broke in amongſt them, and beat down the royal ſtandard. *Garcia Holguin*, a captain of one of the vergantines, obſerved a very large canoe deeply laden with men, and rowed by twenty oars; and being informed by one of his priſoners; that the emperor was in it, he gave chace, and preſently overtook her: When *Quahutimoc*, who ſtood upon the poop of his canoe ready to fight, perceived the *Spaniard*'s pieces preſented againſt him, he ſubmitted, and declared, that he was the emperor. *Holguin* was very proud of his royal priſoner, and carried him forthwith to *Cortez*, who received him very reſpectfully: When *Quahutimoc* came near *Cortez*, he laid his hand upon the general's dagger, and ſaid, "I have uſed my beſt endeavours "to defend myſelf and my vaſſals, according to my duty, hoping not "to have come to that wretched ſtate in which you now behold me; "But ſince it is ſo, and I am now in your power, the greateſt favour "you can ſhew me is, to put an end to my miſeries by death, which "is my only requeſt." *Cortez* deſired him to be comforted, and not to think of death, deſiring him to perſuade his people to ſurrender themſelves to mercy; and not to periſh wilfully. This *Quahutimoc* readily performed, and the *Mexicans* as readily obeyed; inſomuch that ſeventy thouſand of them threw down their arms, and ſubmitted; notwithſtanding ſome hundred thouſands of them had before been ſlain and taken priſoners. Thus was the famous city of *Mexico* conquered by the *Spaniards* on the 13th day of *Auguſt*, 1521; in remembrance whereof they make annually a ſumptuous feaſt in the city, and ſolemn proceſſion, when the ſtandard royal, under which the conqueſt was obtained, is carried in great ſtate. It is ſomething remarkable in this victory, that one emperor, the greateſt that ever was in thoſe parts, was ſlain;

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and another as famous a warrior as ever was known in *America*, was taken priſoner. The ſiege laſted about three months, and *Cortez*'s ſtrength conſiſted of near two hundred thouſand *Indians*, which were daily increaſing, nine hundred *Spaniards*, fourſcore horſes only, 17 or 18 pieces of ordnance, eighteen vergantines, and at leaſt ſix thouſand canoes. In this ſiege were ſlain fifty *Spaniards*, ſix horſes, and about eight thouſand *Indians* of *Cortez*'s friends. Of the *Mexicans* a hundred and twenty thouſand were ſlain, beſides thoſe who died of hunger and ſickneſs; and as at the defence of the city all the nobility were preſent, moſt of them were killed. The multitude of people was ſo great in the city, that they were obliged to eat boughs and rinds of trees, and to drink ſalt water; and though they were obliged to ſleep amongſt innumerable heaps of dead bodies, which ſpread a general infection amongſt them, of which infinite numbers died, yet would they not yield themſelves priſoners, until they were adviſed ſo to do by their emperor, *Quahutimoc*.

The *Mexican* women were highly commendable in this extremity; for they not only ſtuck faſt by their huſbands and fathers, but took great care of the ſick and wounded perſons; they were alſo very active and uſeful during the ſiege, by making ſlings and fitting ſtones to them, and even throwing them againſt the enemy, by which means they were as ſerviceable as the men. The city was given up to plunder; the *Spaniards* took the gold, plate, and feathers, and their *Indian* allies had the cloth and other ſtuffs.

The city was afterwards burnt, and the whole kingdom brought under the *Spaniſh* ſubjection: But *Cortez* re-edify'd it, not only for its ſituation, but for the great name and fame it had gained abroad. He divided it amongſt the conquerors, having firſt laid out plots for churches, market-places, a town-houſe, and other neceſſary publick edifices. He ſeparated the habitations of the *Spaniards* from the *Indians*, by fixing a large run of water between them. He gave to the natives of the old city, lands to build upon, promiſing them inheritance, freedom, and other privileges: He alſo promiſed the like freedom to all other *Indians* who would come and ſettle there, which allured a great many: He ſet at liberty *Xihuaco*, the captain-general, and made him chief over the *Indians* in the city, unto whom he gave a whole ſtreet: He likewiſe gave another ſtreet to Don *Pedro Montezuma*, ſon to the late emperor *Montezuma*,: He made other perſons of figure among the *Mexicans* lords of ſmall iſlands, and gave to ſome little ſtreets to build upon. And all this was done to gain the favour and good will of the people. In this order the city began to be rebuilt, and the work went on with briſkneſs and alacrity; though the labour was heavy and hard, for they carried on their backs, and drew after them, large ſtones, timber, earth, lime, brick, and ſuch like materials; and in a ſhort time the city was rebuilt, and conſiſted of a hundred thouſand houſes. The *Spaniards* built their houſes after the *Spaniſh* faſhion; and *Cortez* erected a fine large building upon the ſpot where *Montezuma*, the emperor, had kept his court, which now renteth yearly for four thouſand ducats, and is called the palace of the marquiſs

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Del Valle, the king of *Spain* having conferred that title upon *Cortez* and his heirs, deriving the ſaid title from the great valley of *Guaxaca*. This palace had ſeven thouſand beams of cedar in it.

They have ſtopt the water of the lake from overflowing the city as it uſed to do; and eſpecially, ſince the year 1634, the water cometh not by far ſo near the city as it uſed to. The lake, 'tis true, ſometimes caſteth out a vaporous ſtench, but otherwiſe, the ſituation is temperate and wholeſome, by reaſon of the neighbouring mountains, from whence iſſues a ſerene and refreſhing air. *Mexico* is now one of the greateſt cities both for extenſion and ſituation; and a few years ago, there were at leaſt two thouſand citizens, who had each of them his horſe in his ſtable richly capariſon'd, and his arms ready againſt any inſurrection or invaſion; but now all the *Indians* being ſubdued, and moſt of them round about the city deſtroyed, the *Spaniards* are grown careleſs, and think themſelves ſo ſecure from an enemy, that there is neither gate, wall, bulwark, platform, tower, armory, ordnance or ammunition, to ſecure the city from either domeſtick or foreign foes; from the latter, they think the port of *St. John de Ulva* ſufficient and ſtrong enough to ſecure them. *Mexico* may be eſteemed one of the richeſt cities; for by the North ſea cometh every year from *Spain* a fleet of near twenty ſhips laden with the beſt commodities, not only of that country, but of all *Chriſtendom*. And by the South ſea it hath the trade of *Peru*, the *Eaſt-Indies*, all thoſe parts inhabited by the *Portugueſe*, the countries of *Japan* and *China*; and they ſend every year to the *Philippines*, two large ſhips, and two ſmaller ones. There is alſo in *Mexico* a royal mint-houſe, where money is daily coined, from ſilver brought thither in wedges from the mines of *Sacatecas* and *Potoſi*, upon the backs of mules; and at *Sacatecas* they have built a city lately, which they call *New-Mexico*. There is alſo a fine univerſity in *Mexico*, built by the viceroy don *Antonio de Mendoza*.

At the re-peopling of this city, a great diſtinction was made between a conqueror and a mere inhabitant only: For a conqueror, or thoſe who aſſiſted in the firſt conqueſt, was a name of honour, and held his lands of the king of *Spain*, in fee-ſimple, to him and his heirs forever; but an after-comer paid rent for his houſe and lands. And this hath filled thoſe parts of *America* with many proud dons to this day; for every deſcendant from a conqueror (tho' he be as poor as *Lazarus*) ſets up for a gentleman; and aſk him what is become of his eſtate, he will anſwer, fortune hath taken that from him, but ſhe ſhall never deprive him of the name of a don; and a poor cobler, if he be called *Mendoza*, or *Guzman*, will ſwear, that he is deſcended from the houſes of that name, and that his grand-father was one of the conquerors of the country, tho' now fortune hath frowned upon him, and covered his rags with a thread-bare cloak. Fame having ſpread her report of the grandeur of this new city far and near, it was ſoon repleniſhed both with *Indians*, and *Spaniards* from old *Spain*, who conquered and added to this ſtately city and province above four hundred leagues of land. But ſince its firſt rebuilding, it may be ſaid to have been rebuilt a ſecond time by the *Spaniards*, who have drove the poor *Indians* from their habitations into

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the ſuburbs of the city, where they now live, and this part is called *Guadalupe*. In the year 1625, when I went thither, this ſuburb was eſteemed to contain about five thouſand inhabitants; but ſince many of them have been deſtroyed by the hard uſage of the *Spaniards*, and the work at the lake; ſo that now there is not above two thouſand inhabitants of mere *Indians*, and about one thouſand of ſuch as they call there *Meſtizoes*, who are of a mixed nature between *Spaniards* and *Indians*; for many *Spaniards* marry *Indian* women; and thoſe who do not chooſe to marry them, eaſily find methods to diſpatch an innocent *Uriah* to enjoy his *Bathſheba*. The *Spaniards* often couzen the poor natives out of the ſmall ſpots of ground where their houſes ſtand, and then pulling them down, erect ſtately buildings thereon after the *European* faſhion, with fine large gardens and orchards.

Their buildings are generally of ſtone and brick, very ſtrong, but not high, by reaſon of the many earthquakes which happen in thoſe parts, and would much endanger a building above three ſtories high. The ſtreets are very broad; in moſt of them three coaches go abreaſt, and in the wideſt ſix, which makes the city ſeem a great deal bigger than it really is. In my time I ſuppoſe it conſiſted of between thirty and forty thouſand *Spaniards*, who were ſo proud and rich, that great numbers of them kept their coaches, and it was credibly reported, that at that time there were in *Mexico* above fifteen thouſand coaches. It is a common ſaying, that in *Mexico* there are four things gay and beautiful, their women, their apparel, their horſes, and their ſtreets; to theſe I am ſure we may add the coaches of the gentry, which are more rich and beautiful than any I ever ſaw in *Europe*; for here they ſpare neither gold, nor ſilver, nor precious ſtones, nor cloth of gold, nor the beſt ſilks from *China*, to enrich them, their horſes being adorned with coſtly bridles, and ſhoes of ſilver. The ſtreets in *Chriſtendom* are not comparable to the ſtreets in *Mexico* for breadth and cleaneſs, but more eſpecially in the riches of the ſhops which do adorn them: Above all, the goldſmith's ſhops and their work are to be admired. To the beauty of their women, I muſt add, the liberty they take and enjoy for gaming, which is ſuch, that the day and night is too ſhort for them to end that ſport when it is once begun: Nay, it is ſo common amongſt the ladies, that they will not even bluſh to invite ſtrange gentlemen to their houſes for that purpoſe; as I myſelf have experienced; for one day paſſing along the ſtreets with another friar who came with me from *Spain*, a lady of great quality, knowing us to be *Chapetons*, (the name they give to thoſe who are newly come from *Spain*) called to us from her window, and after two or three frivolous queſtions concerning the old country, ſhe aſked us to come in and play a game at cards with her.

Both men and women are exceſſive in their apparel, uſing more ſilks than ſtuffs or cloths; precious ſtones and pearls are a great addition to their pride; a hat-band and roſe made of diamonds you may frequently ſee in a gentleman's hat, and a hat-band of pearls is common in a tradeſman's: Nay, a tawny young maid and a ſlave will make hard ſhift, but ſhe will have her neck-chain and bracelets of pearls,

and

and her ear-bobs of diamonds. The dreſs of theſe *Meſtizoes* is ſo ga" and neat, and their behaviour ſo alluring, that many *Spaniards*, even of the better ſort, diſdain and quit their wives for them. Their cloathing is a petticoat of ſilk or cloth, laced with gold or ſilver, bound with a broad double ribband of a different colour, with long taggs of gold or ſilver hanging down before to the ground, and the like behind; their jackets are made tight like bodice, with ſhirts likewiſe laced with gold or ſilver, without ſleeves, and a girdle about their body of great value, ſtuck with pearls and knots of gold (if they happen to be favourites) they then put on ſleeves made of *Holland*, or fine *China* linnen, wrought ſome with coloured ſilks, ſome with ſilk and ſilver, and ſome with ſilk and gold: theſe reach almoſt to the ground: The locks of their heads are covered with a worked coif, and over this another of net-work, bound with fine ſilk, or a ſilver or golden ribband, which croſſeth the upper part of the forehead, upon which is worked ſome fooliſh love poeſie; their tawny breaſts are covered with bobs hanging from their pearl neck-chains. When they go abroad, they uſe a white mantle of lawn or fine cambrick, rounded with a broad lace, which ſome put over their heads, and the breadth will then only reach to their middle behind, that their fine girdles and ribbands may be ſeen, but the two ends before reach to the ground; others careleſsly caſt their mantles over the left ſhoulder, that they may have room to diſplay their right arm, and ſhew their fine broad ſleeves as they walk along. Their ſhoes are high, and of many ſoles, and the prouder ſort have the out-ſide ſole plated with ſilver, faſtened with nails of broad ſilver heads. Moſt of theſe women have been ſlaves, whom love hath ſet at liberty, to enſlave their ſouls to ſin and ſatan. There are ſo many of theſe women grown to ſuch a height of pride and vanity, that I have often heard many perſons of good moral lives, declare, that they verily believed, that by the looſeneſs of thoſe harlot's lives, and the publick ſcandals they were guilty of with the young *Spaniards* of quality, heaven would deſtroy their city, and give up their country into the power of ſome other nation. I will not relate particulars of their obſcene and impious behaviour; which would offend my reader's modeſty; and yet I muſt ſay, that this city which aboundeth ſo much in luſt and luxury, exceeds any place in *Chriſtendom*, even *Rome* itſelf, in the ſuperſtitious worſhip of ſaints and idols: But I have always made this remark in all my travels in *Europe* and *America*, that in thoſe places where there is the greateſt licentiouſneſs of life, there you will find the temples the moſt coſtly, and their pretended ſanctity and worſhip the moſt ſuperſtitious.

The religion of the church of *Rome* teacheth, that all wickedneſs is allowable whereby the church and clergy flouriſh; nay whilſt the purſe is open to laſciviouſneſs, if it be likewiſe open to enrich the temple walls and roofs, it is more efficatious than their holy water to waſh away the filth of ſin. *Mexico* is as a thouſand witneſſes of this truth, ſin and wickedneſs abounding in it; and yet there are no people in the world more beneficent to the church and clergy, ſtriving to outvie each other in their gifts to the cloiſters of friars and nuns; ſome erecting

erecting altars to their saints worth many thousand ducats, others presenting crowns of gold to the virgin *Mary*, with lamps, golden chains, &c. others building cloisters at their own charge, and others at their deaths leaving two or three thousand ducats as an annual stipend. Among these great benefactors to the churches of that city, I should wrong my history, if I should omit one that lived in my time, who was called *Alonso Cuellar*: It is said, that he had a room in his house laid with bars of gold instead of bricks, and that he had chests full of wedges of silver. This man erected a nunnery at his own expence for *Franciscan* nuns, which stood him in above thirty thousand ducats, and endowed it with two thousand ducats yearly, under an obligation of some masses to be said in the church every year for his soul after his decease: And yet that man's life was so loose and wicked, that with two servants in the night he would commonly round the city, visiting such young harlots as I have before described, carrying his string of beads in his hands, and as others drop a bead at the end of every prayer, so he would drop one at every house he visited, that when he came home in the morning he might know how many lascivious visits he had paid. But these works of darkness came at last to light; for one night whilst I was in *Mexico*, meeting with a gentleman at one of his stations, who was jealous of him, a quarrel ensued, and swords were drawn; the concubine was first stabbed by the gentleman, who was better manned and attended, and *Cuellar* was mortally wounded, and left for dead, though afterwards he recovered. Great alms and liberality towards religious houses are generally attended with great and scandalous wickedness. They wallow in the bed of riches and wealth, and make their alms a sort of coverlid, to cover their obscene and lascivious lives; by which their churches are most beauteous, and richly adorned. There were not in my time above fifty parish churches, chapels, cloisters, and nunneries in this city: but they are the most rich and glorious that ever my eyes beheld, the roofs and beams of many of them being cased with gold, their altars the same, and supported by marble pillars, insomuch that the common value of them amounteth to several thousand ducats. This produces admiration in the common sort of people, admiration brings on adoration, and adoration superstition and idolatry. Thus the devil gives the world to be adored.

Besides these beautiful buildings, the inward riches belonging to the altars are infinite in price and value, such as copes, canopies, hangings, altar-cloths, candlesticks, jewels belonging to saints, and crowns of gold and silver; also tabernacles of gold and crystal to carry about their sacrament in procession, all which would amount to the worth of a reasonable mine of silver, and would be a rich prize for any nation that knew how to make better use of wealth and riches. I shall not say much of the friars and nuns of this city, only that they enjoy more liberty than in any part of *Europe*.

Whilst I was there, I was present at an election of a provincial to rule over them, in the cloister of the *Mercenarian* friars, for the redemption of captives; to which all the priors, and heads of the cloisters about the country, had resorted. At this election faction grew so high, that on a sudden

ſudden all the convent was in an uproar, their canonical election was turned into mutiny and ſtrife; knives were drawn, many wounded, and murder would certainly have enſued, had not the viceroy interpoſed, who was obliged to make uſe of his authority, and to ſit amongſt them, and to guard the cloiſter, until the provincial was elected.

It is common for the friars to viſit their devoted nuns, and to ſpend whole days with them, hearing their muſick, and feeding upon their ſweet-meats: For this purpoſe, they have many chambers, which they call *Loquutorios*, with wooden bars between the nuns and them; in theſe chambers are tables for the friars to dine at; and whilſt they are at dinner, the nuns divert them with muſick and ſinging. Gentlemen and citizens give their daughters to be brought up in theſe nunneries; here they are taught preſerving, candying, and the moſt curious ſort of paſtry work, muſick, needle-work, and other curious arts: They alſo teach theſe young children to act plays; and to allure the people to their churches, they cauſe theſe young nuns to rehearſe dialogues in the choirs, richly attiring them both in men's and women's apparel, eſpecially upon midſummer-day, and the eight days before Chriſtmas.

The chief place in the city is the market-place; which, though it is not ſo ſpacious as in *Montezuma*'s time, yet at this day it is very ſpacious, built with arches on the one ſide, where people in time of rain may walk dry: Here are the merchants ſhops full of all ſorts of ſtuffs and ſilks, before which ſit women, ſelling all manner of fruit and herbs; over-againſt theſe ſhops and arches ſtands the viceroy's palace, which taketh up almoſt the whole length of the market, with the walls of the houſe, and the gardens belonging to it. At the end of the viceroy's palace, is the chief priſon, which is ſtrong, and of ſtone-work. Next to this is the beautiful ſtreet called *la Plateria*, or the gold-ſmiths ſtreet; and here you may ſee many millions worth of gold, ſilver, pearl, and jewels: But the longeſt and broadeſt ſtreet in the whole city, is called *Tacuba*, ſo called, becauſe it leads to a town of that name; this ſtreet conſiſts of the ſhops of iron-mongers, and thoſe who deal in braſs and ſteel. The ſtreet called *del Aquila*, or the ſtreet of the Eagle, is famous for its ſtately buildings; for here live the courtiers, judges, gentlemen, and perſons of quality; here is alſo the fine palace of the marques *del Valle*, deſcendant from *Cortez*: This ſtreet took its name from an old idol, an eagle of ſtone, which ſince the conqueſt hath been thrown down, and lieth in a corner of it.

About four o'clock in the afternoon every day, appear the nobility and gentry, in all their gallantry: ſome in coaches, and others on horſeback, in a pleaſant ſhady field, called *la Alameda*, full of trees and fine walks, very large and ſpacious. Here I have ſeen two thouſand coaches at one time, full of gentlemen and ladies, who only come to ſee, and be ſeen, to court, and to be courted; the gentlemen having ſome a dozen, but moſt half a dozen of blackmoors attending them, in rich liveries, laced with gold and ſilver, and ſwords by their ſides: The ladies have alſo their trains of tawny damſels attending them, in the dreſs I have before deſcribed them, with their fine white mantles careleſly thrown over their ſhoulders, which make them look (as the *Spaniards* term it)

moſca

moſca en leche, like a fly in milk. But the train of the viceroy, who often appeareth at this place, is ſurprizingly ſtately, and exceedeth even his maſter's, the king of *Spain*. At this meeting there are carried about to be ſold, many curious ſweetmeats and comfits. But theſe ſweet meats often meet with ſour ſauce; for jealouſy many times will not permit a lady to be courted, or even to be ſpoken to, without the gallant's drawing his ſword or dagger, and ſtabbing the perſon he is jealous of; and when one ſword is drawn, hundreds are immediately drawn; ſome in behalf of the perſon injured or ſlain, and ſome in defence of the aggreſſor or murderer, whom they will not permit to be apprehended, but will guard him with their drawn ſwords to the ſanctuary of ſome church; from whence the power of the viceroy is not able to take him for a legal trial. Many of theſe ſudden ſkirmiſhes happened whilſt I was about *Mexico*.

This city is the ſeat of an arch-biſhop, and of a viceroy, who commonly is ſome great nobleman of *Spain*, whoſe power is to make laws and ordinances, to give directions, and to determine controverſies, unleſs it be in ſuch great cauſes, which are thought fit to be referred to the council of *Spain*. There are at leaſt four hundred leagues of land under the government of this princely ſeat of *Mexico*; for though there are within this compaſs many governments with different governors, yet they are all ſubordinate to this viceroy, who are all his creatures, being appointed by him, and generally obtain their preferments by gifts and bribes. The king of *Spain* allows his viceroy out of his exchequer yearly a hundred thouſand ducats, during his government; which is generally but five years; yet oftentimes by bribing the *Spaniſh* miniſtry, they obtain a continuance for five years more, and ſometimes for ten. It is incredible to report the vaſt annual income of his viceroyſhip, if he be a covetous man, and given to trade, as was the marqueſs of *Seralvo* in my time, who was the beſt monopoliſt of ſalt that ever thoſe parts knew. It was ſuppoſed this man made a million of ducats a year, by gifts and preſents, and by trading to old *Spain* and the *Philippines*. For at the end of his five years he ſent a million of ducats to the count of *Olivares*, and other courtiers, to make intereſt for him to hold the government five years longer.

Beſides the viceroy, there are commonly ſix judges and a king's attorney, who are allowed out of the king's exchequer twelve thouſand ducats a year apiece; there are alſo two *Alcaldes de Corte*, or high juſtices, who, with the viceroy, decide all chancery and criminal cauſes. But though theſe uniting together, may oppoſe the viceroy in any unlawful and unjuſtifiable action, yet they dare not do it: Indeed ſome have been ſo reſolute; and have ſmarted for it. So that he doth juſt what he pleaſes; and he may truly ſay, *ſtat pro ratione voluntas*, my will is the law. This power, joined to covetouſneſs in the viceroy, and 60,000 ducats yearly, joined to pride in the arch-biſhop, hadlike to have been the ruin of *Mexico* in the year 1624, when the count of *Gelves* was viceroy, and don *Alonzo de Zerna*, arch-biſhop; for theſe two powers ſtriking at each other like two flints, had nearly brought to combuſtion that famous city, and did ſet on fire the viceroy's palace,

and the priſon adjoining to it; an accouut of which ſhall be the ſubject of the next chapter.

CHAP. IX.

Of a dangerous mutiny which happened in Mexico, *occaſioned by a diſpute between the viceroy and the arch-biſhop. The viceroy orders the arch-biſhop to be apprehended, who retires to* Guadalupe, *and leaves a bill of excommunication upon the church doors againſt the viceroy; the viceroy ſends officers to* Guadalupe *to take him, and the arch-biſhop flies to the altar for ſanctuary; from whence he is taken by the officers, and ſent priſoner to old* Spain. *A great inſurrection in* Mexico *upon this account, wherein the viceroy's palace is ſet on fire, ranſack'd and plundered.*

THE count *de Gelves* was in ſome points one of the beſt viceroys and governors that ever the court of *Spain* ſent to *America*; for he was called by the *Spaniaras*, *el terrible juſticiory fuego de ladiones*, that is, terrible for juſtice, and fire to conſume all thieves. He cleared the highways of all robbers, hanging them as ſoon as they were catched without mercy, ſending out his troops to apprehend them, and clearing the roads of all annoyances of that kind; inſomuch that it was credibly reported, that in his viceroyſhip more rogues had been hanged than in all the time before ſince the conqueſt: And in all other points of juſtice he was ſevere and upright. Yet blinded by his covetouſneſs, he could not ſee his own injuſtice, concealing his own avaricious temper, under the diſguiſe of other actions; which brought not only the city of *Mexico*, but the whole kingdom into a dangerous rebellion.

One of his inſtruments was don *Pedro Mexia*, a very rich gentleman of *Mexico*, whom the viceroy choſe to join with him in monopolizing all the *Indian* maize and wheat about the country. This don *Pedro* bought all the maize of the *Indians* at what price he pleaſed; and the wheat he purchaſed of the *Spaniards* at the loweſt price ſettled by the law of the land to be ſold to the poor; and it being a plentiful year, the farmers ſold to him without reſerve, not foreſeeing the conſequence: and thoſe who might be a little more cautious, durſt not oppoſe him, knowing him to be the viceroy's favourite. Thus like *Joſeph* in *Egypt*, he filled all the royal granaries in this plenteous year, and the viceroy and himſelf became owners of all the grain. When the country began to be in want, don *Pedro* raiſed the price of grain to double the price it coſt him. The poor complain, the rich murmur, and the law was urged in chancery before the viceroy, who being concerned in the monopoly, endeavoured to evade the law, by alledging, that it was made only for times of dearth and famine, that he was informed there never was known a more plentiful harveſt; and that to his knowledge there never had been more grain brought into the markets, enough for the city and all the country; and therefore every one was at his liberty to ſell for the price he could get. Thus was the law perverted, the rich ſlighted, the poor oppreſſed, and none ſold grain but don *Pedro Mexia* and his officers, for the benefit of himſelf and the viceroy.

roy. When juſtice refuſed longer to be their father, the people apply to their mother, the church; complaining to the arch-biſhop of *Mexico*, that don *Pedro*, by the viceroy's favour, did tyrannize over and oppreſs them, and therefore they beſeeched him to make it a caſe of conſcience, and reduce it to a church cenſure.

Don *Alonſo de Zerna*, the archbiſhop, who had never any ſincere friendſhip either for the viceroy or his favourite *Mexia*, with pleaſure embraced this favourable opportunity of gratifying his diſtaſte againſt them, and alſo to pleaſe the people: He therefore cauſed don *Pedro* to be cited before him, to anſwer this complaint of oppreſſion on the part of the people; and he not obeying the citation, the prelate ordered bills of excommunication to be fixed upon all the church doors againſt him. Don *Pedro* diſregarded all his proceedings, and kept at home ſelling his corn, and raiſed the price even higher than it was before. The arch-biſhop enlarged his cenſure againſt this great favourite, inſomuch that he added to it a bill of *ceſſatio á divinis*, that is, a ceſſation from all divine ſervice. This cenſure is ſo ſevere with them, that it is never made uſe of, but in the caſe of ſome great man, who proves contumacious and ſtubborn, and contemns the power of the church. When this cenſure is promulgated, all the church doors are ſhut up (be the city ever ſo great) no maſſes are ſaid, no prayers uſed, no preaching permitted, nor no meetings allowed for any publick devotion, or calling upon god; and this continues ſo long as the party remains ſtubborn and rebellious in his ſin, and will not yield to the church's cenſure. And as by this *ceſſatio a divinis* many churches, but eſpecially cloiſters, ſuffer in their daily income, who ſubſiſt by the money which is paid for ſaying maſs every day; and in a cloiſter where thirty or forty prieſts ſay maſs, ſo many pieces of eight or crowns, do daily come in; therefore this cenſure is an affliction upon the whole church (all ſuffering by it, as they ſay, both in their ſpiritual and temporal affairs.) And therefore the party offending, for whoſe ſake this curſe is laid upon all, is obliged to ſatisfy and make good the damages which the prieſts and cloiſters ſuſtain during the *ceſſatio a divinis*. To this compliance, as a puniſhment, the arch-biſhop endeavoured to bring don *Pedro Mexia*, and to oblige him to pay near a thouſand crowns a-day for ſo long time as near a thouſand prieſts (for ſo many there were in *Mexico*) had been ſuſpended from their vocation, and had thereby ſuſtained ſo much damage by loſs of their daily income. The arch-biſhop alſo thought to make him odious to the people, by inſtilling this pernicious principle into their minds, that their ſouls ſuffered very much for want of ſpiritual comfort, and the non-communion of prayers and worſhip.

Don *Pedro* perceiving the ſpiteful intention of the archbiſhop, in irritating the people againſt him, and hearing the continual clamours of the multitude in the ſtreets, and their tumultuoſly demanding the uſe and liberty of their Churches, ſecretly retired to the palace of the viceroy, imploring his favour and protection, for whoſe ſake this heavy misfortune had befallen him. The viceroy immediately iſſued his orders to the publick officers, to tear off the church doors the bills of excommunication and

ceſſatio

ceſſatio a divines; and likewiſe commanded the ſuperiors of all the cloiſters to open their churches, and to celebrate divine ſervice and maſs as they had uſually done. But they took no notice of the viceroy's commands, prompted by a blind obedience to the archbiſhop as head of the church, the viceroy therefore commanded the prelate to revoke his cenſures; but his anſwer was, that what he had done, was juſtly done againſt a publick offender and great oppreſſor of the poor, whoſe cries had moved him to commiſerate their ſuffering condition, and that the offender's contempt of his firſt excommunication had deſerved the rigour of the ſecond cenſure, neither of which he could or would revoke, until don *Pedro Meſia* had ſumitted himſelf to the church and had obtained a publick abſolution, and had alſo ſatisfied the prieſts and cloiſters who ſuffered for his miſbehaviour; and that he muſt diſclaim that unlawful and unconſcionable monopoly, whereby he wronged the whole common wealth, and eſpecially the poorer ſort of people.

The viceroy, not brooking this haughty anſwer of the arch prieſt, ordered him to be immediately apprehended, to be guarded to *St. John de Ulva*, and there to be ſhipped for *Spain*. The archbiſhop having notice of the viceroy's reſolution, retired privately out of the city of *Mexico*, and went to *Guadalupe*, attended by ſeveral of his prieſts and prebends, leaving behind him upon the church doors, bills of excommuication againſt the viceroy himſelf; from whence he intended ſecretly to embark for *Spain*, there to give an account to the king of the whole affair, and of the behaviour of the viceroy. But his ſecret intentions were not ſuperior to the viceroy's intelligence, who ſent his officers to ſeize him at *Guadalupe*; which the archbiſhop underſtanding, immediately betook himſelf to the ſanctuary of the church, and cauſed candles to be lighted upon the altar, and attiring himſelf in his pontifical veſtments, with his mitre upon his head, he cauſed the ſacrament to be placed upon the altar; and then holding his croſier in one hand and the ſanctified bread in the other, in this hallowed poſture he waited the coming of the officers, thinking thereby to ſtrike them dumb and motionleſs. The officers entered the church, and proceeded towards the altar where the archbiſhop ſtood; then kneeling down, they made a ſhort prayer, which being ended, they acquainted the archbiſhop, in courteous and gentle words, with the cauſe of their coming into that ſacred place, beſeeching him to lay down the ſacrament, to come from the altar, and to proceed with them out of the church, when they would notify to him the orders ſent him in the king's name. The archbiſhop reply'd, that as their maſter the viceroy was excommunicated, he looked upon him as one out of the pale of the church, without any power or authority to command him in the houſe of God; he therefore required them, as they tendered the good of their ſouls, to depart peaceably, and not to infringe the privileges and immunities of the church, by exerciſing therein even a legal act of ſecular power and command, aſſuring them that he would not go out of the church, unleſs they durſt take him and the ſacrament together.

Upon this reſolute refuſal of the archbiſhop to quit his ſtation, the head officer, named *Tiroll*, ſtood up, and notified to him the orders they had received in the king's name, to apprehend his perſon in what place ſoever

they

they ſhould find him, and to guard him to the Port of *St. John de Ulva*, where he was to be detained priſoner, until he could be ſent to *Spain*, as a traitor to the king's crown, a troubler of the common peace, and an author and mover of ſedition in the common wealth. The archbiſhop ſmiling upon *Tiroll*. ſaid, *Thy maſter uſeth too high terms and words, which better ſuit his own character, for I know of no mutiny or ſedition likely to diſturb the peace of the common wealth, unleſs it be by the viceroy's and don* Pedro Mexias *oppreſſing the poor: And as for thy guarding me to* St. John de Ulva, *I conjure thee by* Jeſus Chriſt, *whom thou knoweſt I hold in my hands,* (ſtill holding the conſecrated bread in his hand) *not to uſe here any violence in God's houſe; from whoſe altar I am reſolved not to depart. Take heed God puniſheth thee not as he did* Jeroboam, *for ſtreaching forth his hand at the altar againſt the prophet. Let his withered hand remind thee of thy duty. Tiroll* would not ſuffer him to ſquander away the time in preaching, but called a prieſt to him, whom he had brought with him for that purpoſe, and commanded him in the king's name to take the ſacrament out of the archbiſhop's hand; which the prieſt did; The archbiſhop finding all his threatnings and denouncing judgments in vain, diveſted himſelf of his pontificals, and with many repetitions of the curſes of the church, upon the invaders of their ſacred privileges and immunities, yielded himſelf a priſoner to *Tiroll*; and then taking leave of all his friends, deſiring them to be witneſſes of what had been done, he was carried to *St. John de Ulva*, where he was delivered into the cuſtody of the governor of the caſtle, and not many days after was ſent into *Spain*, in a ſhip prepared by the viceroy for that purpoſe, with a full account of his behaviour, to be laid before the king and council.

Some of the people in *Mexico* began to talk ſtrangely in private about the viceroy, and to ſtomach the baniſhment of the archbiſhop, becauſe he had oppoſed the oppreſſion of the poor, carried on by thoſe in high power and authority. Theſe private reflections were ſoon vented in publick, with ſevere ſarcaſms and arrogant ſpeeches both againſt don *Pedro Mexia* and the viceroy himſelf. Theſe ſeditions were firſt ſtirred up and fomented by the prieſts, in revenge for the deſpight and contempt ſhewn to their eccleſiaſtical authority. Theſe incendiaries artfully blew the fire of conſpiracy and rebellion for a fortnight together, more eſpecially amongſt the inferior ſort of people, ſuch as the *Creolians*, or native *Spaniards*, the *Indians*, and *Mulattoes*, whom they knew could leaſt brook the ſevere juſtice and judgments of the viceroy, or indeed any governor who was appointed over them from old *Spain*.

At the end of a fortnight, *Tiroll* returned from *St. John de Ulva*, whither he had been to conduct the archbiſhop; and then began the ſedition to break out which had been fomented by the ſpite and malice of the prieſts; then began that fire of mutiny to be kindled, which had like to have conſumed and burned in aſhes the great and famous city of *Mexico*. *Tiroll* found the common rabble ſo incenſed againſt him, for the part he had acted in ſeizing the archſhiop, that he thought proper to keep cloſe, not daring to walk the ſtreets; but urgent buſineſs calling him to the viceroy's palace, he attempted to go thither in a coach, with the curtains drawn cloſe about him, yet this precaution did not eſcape

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the notice of the malecontents, who were ſuppoſed to have received ſome private ſignal; for before he got to the market-place, three or four boys began to cry out, *Judas, Judas, alla va Judas*; as much as to ſay, there goeth *Judas*, who laid his hands upon Chriſt's vicar: Others cried out, *a horquemos a eſte Judas*; let us hang up this *Judas*. The number of boys increaſed, who ran after the coach, ſtill crying out, *muera el valaco deſcomulgado la muerte de Judas, muera el picaro, muera el perro*, that is, let this excommunicated dog and rogue die the death of *Judas*. The coachman whipt on the mules full ſpeed, the boys haſted after with ſtones and dirt; ſo that before *Tiroll* was got the length of two ſtreets, above two hundred boys were riſen, *Spaniards*, *Indians*, *Blackmoors* and *Mulattoes*. With much ado *Tiroll* got ſafe to the viceroy's palace: And the firſt precaution he took was to order the porters to ſhut up the gates, expecting a more general inſurrection and uproar. No ſooner was he got into the viceroy's houſe and the gates ſhut up, but there were gathered together in the market-place (as I was credibly informed by thoſe who ſaw and obſerved that day's work) above two thouſand people, all of inferior rank, and the number ſtill increaſed until they were grown to about ſix or ſeven thouſand perſons; all of them calling out for *Tiroll*, the *Judas*, ſparing neither ſticks, ſtones, nor dirt, which they threw with fury at the viceroy's windows.

The viceroy ſent out a meſſage to them, deſiring them to be eaſy, and to return in peace to their own houſes, aſſuring them, that *Tiroll* was not in his palace, but had eſcaped out of a back-door. The rude multitude would not be ſatisfied with this meſſage, being ſet on by two or three prieſts, who had by this time joined with them; and therefore they began to batter the palace gates and walls more violently, having armed themſelves with pikes, halberds, and long poles: Some of them had procured piſtols and muſkets, with which they fired into the palace, not caring whom they wounded or killed. It was ſurprizing, that none of the ſuperior rank of people, the judges, juſtices, or publick officers, ever appeared to appeaſe this dangerous rebellion; they either durſt not, or would not interfere. Nay, I was told by ſome ſhopkeepers, who lived in the market-place, that ſome of them made a laughing buſineſs of it, ſaying, *Let the boys and youngſters alone; they will right our wrongs; they will find out before they have done*, Tiroll *and* Mexia, *and him that protects them*, meaning the viceroy.

Amongſt the mutineers was a noted prieſt, named *Salazar*, who was a great incendiary, running about the palace, to find out the weakeſt place to aſſault the walls, and to make a breach. At laſt they found the priſon doors at the end of the palace eaſieſt to open, which they ſoon did, letting out all the malefactors, who immediately joined them. The viceroy ſeeing no help came to him from the city, nor from any of his friends, or the publick officers, went up with his guards and ſervants to the top of his palace, and ſet up the royal ſtandard, cauſing a trumpet to be ſounded, to call together the citizens to aſſiſt their king. But this prevailed nothing, not one ſtirred, all the chief men of the city keeping within doors. When the mutineers ſaw the royal ſtandard diſplayed, and heard the king's name mentioned, they cried out, and often repeated,

Vive

Viva el roy, muera el mal govierno, muera les des comulgados ; that is to ſay, Our king live long, but let the evil government die and periſh ; and let them die that are excomunicated. Theſe words ſaved many of them from hanging afterwards, when the affair was tried and ſearched into by the inquiſitor general, don *Martin de Carillo* : With theſe expreſſions conſtantly in their mouths, they continued ſkirmiſhing with the viceroy and his guards for above three hours; they from the top of the palace conſtantly throwing down ſtones upon the multitude, andthe rabble pelting them with ſtones from below; and ſome of them firing a few piſtols, and muſkets, with ſmall pebbles in them: But it is remarkable, that in all this ſkirmiſh there was not one piece of ordnance fired from the caſtle, for indeed the viceroy had none for the defence of his palace or perſon, neither was there one piece of ordnance in that great city for its ſtrength or ſecurity ; the *Spaniards* living fearleſs of the *Indians*, and (as they think) ſecure from being annoyed by any foreign nation. There were ſlain in about 6 hours, (the time the tumult laſted) ſeven or eight of the mutineers, and one of the viceroy's guards, and one of his pages.

The day drawing towards an end, the rabble brought pitch, tar, and other combuſtibles, and ſat fire firſt to the priſon, and then to the viceroy's palace, and burnt down the chief gate. This combuſtion alarmed the leading men of the city, who then left their houſes, and came amongſt the mob, and perſuaded them to deſiſt and quench the fire, or their whole city would be in danger of being deſtroyed. In the mean time, the rebels began to plunder the palace ; ſome broke into the viceroy's ſtables, and carried off his horſes, mules, and rich furniture ; others broke open his cheſts, and tore down the rich hangings of the rooms ; but they were ſoon perſuaded to deſiſt from this ſpoil and robbery by the better ſort of the inhabitants, who told them, that the ſtealing theſe goods would be a means to diſcover them, and to hang them. They made a ſtrict ſearch in every part of the palace for the viceroy, don *Pedro Mexia*, and *Tiroll* ; but none of them could be found, having made their eſcape in diſguiſe. Whither *Mexia* and *Tiroll* fled, was not known for many days ; but it is certain, that the viceroy diſguiſed himſelf in a *Franciſcan* habit, and went in company with a friar through the multitude, to the cloiſter of the *Franciſcans*, where he continued for a conſiderable time ; for I ſaw him there the year afterwards : nor durſt he ſtir from thence, until he had informed the king and council of *Spain* of this inſurrection, and of the danger himſelf and the whole city were in, if not timely prevented.

The king and council of *Spain*, immediately upon notice thereof, took the affair into coſinderation, and were of opinion, that it was highly neceſſary to puniſh ſome of the offenders, by way of example to the other parts of *America*, to prevent any further mutiny and rebellion. Wherefore the following year, 1625, (when I went to thoſe parts) the king ſent a new viceroy, the marqueſs *de Saralvo*, in the room of the count *de Gelves* ; and more eſpecially to aid and aſſiſt don *Martin de Carillo*, a prieſt, and inquiſitor of the inquiſition of *Valladolid*, who was ſent with a large and extenſive commiſſion, to examine into the aforeſaid mutiny and rebellion ; alſo with authority to try, judge, condemn, and execute

all

all perſons concerned in it at his diſcretion. I was in *Mexico* during the time of the trials: And the court was of opinion, that if juſtice were ſtrictly executed, moſt of the principal inhabitants of *Mexico* ought to have ſuffered, for not coming to the viceroy's aſſiſtance, upon the royal ſtandard being diſplay'd, and their being ſummoned in by ſound of trumpet: The judges were removed from their places, tho' they alledged, that they durſt not appear, being informed that the whole city would have riſen againſt them. The chief actors were found to be the *Creoleans*, or natives of the country, who hate the *Spaniſh* government, and all ſuch as come from *Spain*, and they are and always will be watching every opportunity to ſhake off the *Spaniſh* yoke, and reaſon enough they have for it, for they are moſt grievouſly oppreſſed by them. The chief fomentors of the mutiny were found to be the archbiſhop's party, the prieſts; and if *Salazar*, and three more of the prieſts had not fled from juſtice, they would certainly have been ſent ſlaves for life to the gallies in *Spain*; for that ſentence was paſſed againſt them in their abſence. There were not above three or four hanged out of ſeveral thouſands; and thoſe were for ſtealing goods out of the viceroy's palace. For had juſtice been ſtrictly executed the greateſt part of the citizens muſt have fallen under her cenſure, either as actors, counſellors, or fomenters; and therefore the king, upon mature advice, thought proper to grant a general pardon.

The archbiſhop's proceedings were diſapproved of by the court of *Spain*, as too raſh, inconſiderate, and ſevere; the viceroy's met with a milder cenſure. The archbiſhop remained a long time without any preferment; at laſt, to prevent exceptions being taken by his party, or cauſe given for further ſtirring the embers to a greater combuſtion, the council thought proper to do him honour in the country where he was born, by making him biſhop of *Zamora*, a ſmall biſhoprick in the province of *Caſtile* in old *Spain*: But his wings were very much clipt; for from an archbiſhop he fell to a biſhop, and from ſixty thouſand crowns a year to five thouſand. The viceroy, the count of *Gelves*, was alſo ſent to *Spain*, and was well received at court, being made maſter of the king's horſe, which in *Spain* is eſteemed a nobleman's preferment. The viceroy's covetouſneſs ſhould not eſcape cenſure and reflections; this made him a monopoliſt and oppreſſor of the poor, a great crime in any one, but much more to be condemned in a prince or governor, becauſe it hardens thoſe tender bowels of compaſſion which they ought to have for the people, and makes them partial in the adminiſtration of juſtice. But we may, from his proceeding ſo remarkably againſt the chief head of the *Romiſh* church, diſcover the errors of the prieſts and jeſuits, who perſwade the people that no temporal magiſtrate hath power over them (the prieſts) and that to lay hands upon them in anger and wrath (being as they ſay, conſecrated to God and his altar) deſerves, *ipſo facto*, a deep excommunication; whereas we ſee the contrary adjudg'd in the caſe of this viceroy, a member of the church of *Rome*, and yet exerciſing his temporal power againſt the head of the church, an archbiſhop, by ſending his officer to take him from the altar, and to ſend him priſoner to the court of *Spain*, where his proceedings were approved of by the king

king, who was alſo a *Romiſh* monarch. Certainly the ſtrength of the church, well ſettled and governed with ſubordination to the magiſtrate, is likewiſe the ſtrength of the common wealth; but an abſolute power veſted in the clergy, to excommunicate and caſt out of the peals of the church whomſoever they pleaſe, muſt be dangerous to any conſtitution; for the chief magiſtrate himſelf will not be free from thei cenſures, nor eſcape excommunication. And I have heard a prieſt ſay, that he did not know, but that by the power of the keys, they might as well excommunicate a king as any other perſon. I muſt ingeniouſly confeſs, that one main point, which converted me from the church of *Rome*, was the too great power lodged in the pope, biſhops, and prieſts hands, who ſtudying more ſelf policy, than common policy, look upon the people as their ſubjects, and not as political members of the common wealth. Experience in all my travels, both by ſea and land, in moſt parts of *Europe* and *America*, hath ever taught me, that wherever the clergy have been too much exalted, and enjoyed too great power over the people, there the common wealth hath ſoon fallen into heavy preſſures and troubles. What a dangerous rebellion did this don *Alonſo de Zerna*, the archbiſhop, raiſe in the city of *Mexico*, by excommunicating firſt don *Pedro Mexia*, and then the viceroy, the count of *Gelves*; and how did the people obey and ſtand in awe of the archbiſhop's ſpiritual power, more than the viceroy's temporal power and authority, by endeavouring to deſtroy thoſe he had excommunicated? And in ſuch a caſe, the power of the keys of the church, may unlock and open a door for rebellion to enter, and plunge a common wealth into the utmoſt confuſion. But the church of *England* admitting the ſupreme power to be veſted in the king only, and acknowledging him to be the head of the church, we are in danger of no commotions upon that account.

Thus I have given an account of the ſtate and condition of *Mexico*, in the time of *Montezuma*, of the conqueſt thereof by the *Spaniards*, and of the confuſion and diſorder I found the city in when I came there, occaſioned by the above related inſurrection and rebellion. I ſhall in the next place give an account of the moſt remarkable places about it, of the ſeveral parts of *South-America*, and of the journey I made from *Mexico* to *Guatemala*, being nine hundred miles to the Southward, and from thence to *Coſtarica* and *Nicoya*, being nine hundred miles ſtill further to the South of *Guatemala*

CHAP. X.

The Author's Journey from Mexico *to* Chiapa, *and a deſcription of the moſt remarkable Places in the Way.*

FROM the month of *October* until *February*, I abode with my friends and companions, the friars, under the command of friar *Calvo*, in that houſe of recreation, called *St. Jacintho:* by which means I had the opportunity of viewing all the towns, and ſeeing every thing worth notice about *Mexico*. But I was more particularly careful of informing

myself of the state of the *Philippines*, the place of our mission. I happened to fall into company with a friar, who was newly come from *Manila*, to which place I was bound. He gave us a dreadful description of the place, and persuaded us not to go there, if we had any value either for our bodies or souls. He said the temptations to sin were daily many in number, mighty in strength, and to keep out of them hard and difficult. Many particulars we could not get from him, nor the reason of his coming away; only he would often say, the friars live there in private like devils, but in publick they appear saints, putting on the cloak of hypocrisy. He further told us, that if we went to live there, we should be sent to *Japan* and *China*, to convert those people to christianity, at the utmost peril of our lives; that we should be subject to many excommunications for trivial offences; that some of the missionaries in despair, under these rigorous courses, had hanged themselves; that others had been hanged for murdering their superiors; and that others had been found in a morning hanging with their harlots at the cloister gates, having been truss'd up either by the husband, or by some other persons who bore an affection to the women.

This strange account alarmed us much, and moved me, and three more of my friends, to relent going any further; and we communed privately with ourselves what course to take, whether to endeavour to return to *Spain*, or to conceal ourselves in some part of *America*. We knew if our superior *Calvo* should disclose our purposes, he would shut us up in a cloister prison, until the day of our departure from *Mexico*. Though our resolutions were made, the secrets of our hearts, yet I could not help imparting them to my particular friend, *Thomas Deleon*, who was often wishing he had never come from *Spain*. No sooner had I communicated my sentiments to him, but he greatly rejoiced, and promised to join with me, in endeavouring to make our escape. The time we had to dispose of ourselves was short, and we applied to some *Mexican* friars, letting them know, that if our superior *Calvo* would give us leave, we would willingly stay at *Mexico*; or in any cloister thereabouts, until we could meet with a conveniency of returning to *Spain*. But they being *Creolians*, or born in that country, had a natural antipathy to those who came from *Spain*: They therefore told us, that they and the true *Spaniards* could never agree; and they knew their superiors would not admit us; but they thought we might be entertained in the province of *Guaxaca*, where half the friars were of *Spain*, and half natives, or if we should not speed there, they were well assured, we should not fail of being welcome to the province of *Guatimala*, where almost all the friars were of *Spain*.

It did not a little trouble us to consider that *Guatemala* was three hundred leagues off, that we were ignorant of the *Mexican* tongue, and unprovided of money and horses for so long a journey. But then we considered *Manila* was further, from whence we had no hopes of ever returning to *Christendom*: Wherefore we resolv'd to rely upon providence; to venture upon this journey of three hundred leagues, and to sell our books, and some other small trifles, we had with us, to buy each of us a horse. But whilst we were secretly preparing for our

our journey to *Guatemala*, we were diſheartened by an accident which happened to a friar of our company, named *Peter Borrallo*; who, without acquainting any of his friends with what he intended, had made a ſecret eſcape from us, and had taken his way alone towards *Guatemala*. This ſo incenſed our ſuperior *Calvo*, that after he had made ſtrict ſearch and enquiry after him to no purpoſe, he applied to the vic roy, praying his aſſiſtance and proclamation in the publick market-place, for the better finding out his loſt ſheep, alledging, that none ought to conceal or harbour any friar who had been ſent from *Spain* to the *Philippines* to preach the goſpel there; for that the aforeſaid friars were ſent over at the expence of the king, whoſe bread they had eat, and at whoſe charges they were to be further conveyed to the *Philippine* iſlands: Therefore if any friar ſhould deſert the ſervice, he ought to be puniſhed for defrauding the king.

This political reaſoning of friar *Calvo* prevailed ſo far with the viceroy, that he cauſed a proclamation to be made, againſt any perſons harbouring or concealing *Peter Borrallo*, or any other friar belonging to this miſſion; declaring, that whoever ſhould treſpaſs againſt this proclamation, ſhould ſuffer impriſonment during his highneſs's will and pleaſure; and ſhould further pay the penalty of five hundred ducats into the king's exchequer. With this proclamation *Calvo* began to inſult over us, and to tell us, we were the king's ſlaves under his conduct, and that if any of us durſt leave him (for he was jealous of moſt of us) he doubted not but with the viceroy's aſſiſtance and proclamation, he ſhould find us out to our utter ſhame and confuſion. This threatning of our ſuperior had a great effect upon us, and my friend *Deleon*'s heart began to fail, and his courage to abate, ſo that he intirely gave over all thoughts of ſtaying behind and concealing himſelf; yet he proteſted to me, that if I was ſtill of the ſame mind, he would not diſcover it: However, ſeeing his weakneſs, I did not think proper to truſt him; but conſulted with my other three friends, (of whom *Antonio Melendez* was one, who had firſt perſuaded me to leave *Spain*) whom I found much troubled, doubtful and wavering what courſe to take. They conſidered, that if we ſhould endeavour to eſcape, and be retaken, what a ſhame it would be to us to be brought back priſoners to *Mexico*, that it was difficult to evade the viceroy's proclamation, and to ſtruggle with the power and authority of ſo great a man. On the other hand, they could not bear the thoughts of going to the *Philippines*, and to give over all hopes of ever returning to *Europe*. After all theſe ſerious thoughts our comfort was, that *Peter Borallo* was ſafely eſcaped, and (as we were informed) had been met far from *Mexico*, travelling alone towards *Guatemala*.

I told them that my reſolution was to ſtay at all hazards, and to take my journey towards *Guatemala*, though alone. They were pleaſed to ſee me ſo reſolute, and gave me their hands that they would accompany me. Having thus reſolved to take our flight, we agreed every one ſhould have a horſe ready in the city of *Mexico*, and that the night before the miſſionaries departed for *Acapulca*, to take ſhipping for the *Philippines*, we would leave *St. Jacintho* two and two together, and

and meet in *Mexico*, and from thence travel all that night, and so keep travelling by night and resting by day, until we were got thirty or forty leagues towards *Guatemala*. We had, 'tis true, but a melancholy prospect before us, to think of travelling nine hundred miles with such a small sum of money amongst us as twenty ducats, for the maintenance of ourselves and our horses; for that was all the cash we could muster, after our horses were paid for. But our chiefest concern was, to get safely out of *Mexico*; for we had been informed, that *Calvo* had procured officers from the viceroy of *Mexico* to watch the great roads both day and night, until he was gone with his train of friars for *Acapulco*.

Notwithstanding the viceroy's proclamation, we had procured a true and trusty friend, who engaged to guide us out of the city by such a private way, that we might be in no fear of falling into the hands of the watch. So we sat out of *Mexico* at ten o'clock at night, about the middle of *February*, with our guide, and a map to direct us after he had left us. We travelled comfortably that night, and in the morning came to a little town of *Indians*, where we began to break bulk upon our small stock, calling for a turky and capon for our breakfast, and to treat our friend before we took leave of him. Breakfast being over, we bid our guide farewel, with many thanks for his kindness, and then went to rest, that we might be the better enabled to perform the next night's journey, which was to cross the country towards *Atlisco*, a fine valley, in which are many rich towns, both of *Spaniards* and *Indians*: The towns we shunned, and went from farm to farm out of the highways, where we found good entertainment amongst the rich farmers, who bear so great respect to the priesthood, that they thought themselves happy in our company. Here we began to shake off all fear, and that we might not lose the pleasure of viewing so fine a country, we resolved to travel by day, yet still crossing the country. Leaving the valley of *Atlisco*, we came to another, called the valley of *St. Paul*, which was very rich in soil, enjoying a double harvest of wheat every year. Here we met with farmers worth twenty, thirty, and forty thousand ducats. It was our good fortune in this valley to call at a farm house, the owner whereof was born in *Segovia* in *Spain*, and a countryman to my friend *Antonio Melendez*, who, for his sake, entertained us three days and nights. His table was as well furnished as a nobleman's; his side-board full of silver plate, and no dainties were wanting to welcome us to his table, nor no perfumes to delight us in our chambers, nor musick to assist us in passing away the time in the most agreeable manner. To this generous friend *Antonio Melendez* discovered the secret of our journey to *Guatemala*; and from him we received instructions which way to steer our course to keep free from fear and danger. Here we plainly perceived the great providence of God in conducting us to the house of so good a friend, who not only entertained us with the greatest hospitality, but at our departure bestowed upon us twenty ducats towards bearing our expences, and sent a guide along with us for a whole day, to conduct us on our way.

From

From this valley we wheeled about to a town called *Taſco*, conſiſting of about five hundred inhabitants, and noted for its great trade in cotton wool. Here we were very well entertained by a *Franciſcan* friar, who being a native of *Spain*, made us the more welcome, when he knew we came from thence. Here we got into the road to *Guaxaca*, and came to a great town called *Zumpango*, conſiſting at leaſt of eight hundred inhabitants, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*; many of them very rich, their chief commodities, cotton, ſugar, and cochineal. Beyond this town are the mountains called *la Meſtecha*, where are many rich and great towns, who trade with the beſt ſilk that is in all that country. Here is alſo great ſtore of wax and honey, and theſe *Indians* traffick to *Mexico*, and about the country, ſome of them having twenty or thirty mules of their own, and are eſteemed to be worth ten, twelve, or fifteen thouſand ducats a piece, which is much for an *Indian* to get among the *Spaniards*, who think all the riches of *America*, little enough for themſelves. From theſe mountains of *Meſtecha* to *Guaxaca* we ſaw little obſervable, only towns of two or three hundred inhabitants; but wherever we came, we found their churches well built, but better furniſhed, with rich ſilver candleſticks, lamps, and crowns for the ſtatues of their ſaints. The ſoil all the way was rich and fruitful, yielding wheat, ſugar, cotton, honey, and here and there ſome cochineal, as alſo great ſtore of ſweet and luſcious fruits; but above all, abundance of cattle, whoſe hides are the greateſt commodity that is ſent from thoſe parts to *Spain*. In theſe mountains are many mines of iron, which the *Spaniards* refuſe to work, becauſe they can get it cheaper from *Spain*.

From hence we came to the city of *Guaxaca*, a biſhop's ſeat, not very large, but a fair and beautiful place. It lieth about 60 leagues from *Mexico*, and is ſituated in a pleaſant valley: From this place *Cortez* took his title of *Marqueſs del Valle*, or, the Marqueſs of the valley. This place lieth open, without any walls, bulwarks, forts, ordnance, or ammunition to defend it; it conſiſts of about two thouſand inhabitants, and is governed by a *Spaniſh* high juſtice, called, *Alcalda Major*, whoſe power reacheth all over the valley, and beyond it as far as *Nixapa*, and almoſt to *Mer del Zur*. This valley is fifteen miles in length, and ten in breadth; and through it there runneth a fine river, affording great ſtore of fiſh. It is full of ſheep and other cattle, which yield much wool for the clothiers, ſtore of hides for the merchants of *Spain*, and fleſh in plenty for the inhabitants of *Guaxaca*, and to all the towns round about. But the good horſes bred here, and eſteemed the beſt in the country, make the valley more remarkable. In the city of *Guaxaca* there are ſix cloiſters of nuns and friars, all of them exceeding rich; but above all, is the cloiſter of the dominican friars, whoſe church treaſure is worth near three millions, and its building the faireſt and ſtrongeſt in all theſe parts. *Guaxaca* is of ſo temperate an air, ſo commodiouſly ſituated between the north and ſouth-ſea, and ſo abounding with proviſions requiſite for the life of man, that I was more deſirous of living in that city than in any place I had ſeen in *America*; and ſhould certainly have ſettled there, had it not been for the great number of *Creolian* or native friars reſiding in it, who bear ſuch an antipathy to the perſons coming from old *Spain*, that there is no dwelling

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in peace amongſt them. This inveterate malice they ſhewed to an ancient grave old friar, after his death, who was a maſter in divinity, and the oracle of learning in thoſe parts, and who died whilſt we were there; and becauſe they could pick no hole in his coat whilſt living, at his death they ſearched his chamber, and finding in his cheſt ſome monies which he had not made known to his ſuperior, this was adjudged a ſin againſt his profeſſed poverty, which merited excommunication; and therefore he was declared excomunicated; upon which he was refuſed chriſtian burial in the church or cloiſter, and they ignominiouſly buried this old divine and with him his credit and reputation, in one of their gardens witnout any funeral ceremony. This was much talked of both in city and country as a baſe action, and ſcandalous to their religion; but they excuſed it by ſaying he was excomunicated: The truth was, he was a native of *Spain*, and therefore the *Creolian* friars thus ſatiated their ſpight againſt him at his death; for, as for the ſin they ſo much profeſs and vow againſt, there is not a friar in all *America*, but is more or leſs guilty of it.

We therefore thought *Guaxaca* no place for us to live in; and after three days ſtay, we departed for *Chiapa*, which lieth 300 miles from thence. We were informed at *Guaxaca*, much to our comfort, that there was an order given to the *Indians* upon this road by the high-juſtice, to furniſh all friars travelling that way with proviſions, as alſo horſes, either to ride on, or to carry their baggage, freely without money; and that at their departure from each place, they ſhould write down in the town-book the expences attending this ſervice provided they did not ſtay above 24 hours in a town, which expences were to be annually carried to a *Spaniſh* juſtice, and to be defray'd out of the town-treaſury. With this charitable relief, we were in hopes of purſuing our journey with great ſatisfaction; and ſo we joyfully travelled on. The firſt place we made trial of this benefaction, was a great town called *Antiquera*, where we freely called for fowls, and what other proviſions we ſaw in the town, fed heartily thereon, and the next day, when we were to pay and depart, we called for the town-book, ſubſcribed our hands to what we had ſpent upon ourſelves and horſes, and proceeded on our journey, highly applauding the benevolence of the juſtices of the country, in providing ſo beneficent a relief for poor mendicant friars travelling through their towns, eſpecially for us, who had ſo ſhallow a purſe for ſo long a journey. Yet we found in ſome ſmall towns, that the *Indians* were unwilling, and (as they alledged) unable to extend this charity to us, being four in company, and bringing with us four horſes: This obliged us ſometimes to make a longer journey, that we might reach ſome great and rich town.

The next town to *Antiquera* was *Nixapa*, containing at leaſt 800 inhabitants, *Spaniards* and *Indians*, ſtanding upon the ſide of a river, which we underſtood was a branch of the great river *Alvarado*. In this town is a very rich cloiſter of *Dominican* friars, where we were well entertained; and in it there is a picture of our lady, which they ſuperſtitiouſly fancy to have wrought miracles, ſo that this cloiſter is become a pilgrimage far and near, and conſequently muſt be very rich. This is eſteemed one of the richeſt places in all *Guaxaca*; for here they make indigo, ſugar, and cochineal; here alſo grow a number of cocoa trees of which they make chocolate.

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From hence we went to *Aguatulco* and *Capalita*, alſo great towns ſtanding in a plain country, abounding with ſheep and cattle. and many excellent fruits, cooling the heat, which here is very great, by reaſon of the low marſhy ground lying near the South ſea. The next conſiderable town from *Capalita* in our road, was *Tecoantepeque*, a ſea-port upon *Mer del Zur*, and a harbour for ſuch ſmall veſſels as trade from thoſe parts to *Acapulcoa* and *Mexico*, to *Guatemala*, and ſometimes to *Panama*. This port is the chief place for fiſhing in all that country: We met ſometimes 50, ſometimes 100 together laden with ſalt fiſh for *Guaxaca*, the city of *Angels* and *Mexico* There are ſome very rich merchants dwelling in this town, who trade to *Mexico*, *Peru*. and the *Philippine Iſlands*, ſending their ſmall veſſels out from port to port, who return richly laden with the commodities of all the ſouthern and eaſtern parts.

We took our journey from hence, over the high rocks and mountains, called *Quelenes*, travelling firſt to *Eſtepique*, and from thence through a deſart of two days journey, and were obliged to lodge one night by a ſpring of water, upon the bare ground, no town or houſe being near us. This deſart lieth ſo open to the ſea, and the wind from thence bloweth ſo ſtrong and violently, that travellers can ſcarce ſit their horſes, which is the reaſon no people inhabit there, however the plain is full of cattle, horſes, and mares, ſome wild, ſome tame. Through this windy champaign country we travelled, though I thought I ſhould have ended my days there. For the ſecond day, intending to reach a town, my three friends rode on pretty briſkly before, thinking that I followed them; and evening approaching, they made the more haſte to arrive at the place before it was dark. In the mean time my horſe tired, and refuſed to go any further; which cauſed me to alight, and endeavour to lead him; but he would not lead, and lay down. In this diſtreſs I knew not what to reſolve upon. I was well ſatisfied the town could not be a great way off, but if I ſhould go on foot to ſeek it out, perhaps I might loſe both myſelf and my horſe; and if I ſhould find the town, and come in the morning to ſeek my horſe, the plain was ſo wide and ſpacious, I might ſeek long enough, and neither find him nor the place where I left him; for there was neither hedge, tree nor ſhrub near the place; wherefore I concluded my beſt courſe was, to take up my lodging with my horſe, in the wild and open wilderneſs, and to watch him, leſt he ſhould ſtray away, until the morning, or perhaps till my friends might ſend ſome perſon to ſeek after me, which they did not that night, imagining I had taken my way to another town not far from thence by miſtake, and to which town they went in the morning to enquire after me. I therefore looked about for a commodious place to lay myſelf down, but found no choice of lodgings, every place afforded me a bed, but it was the bare ground; however to provide myſelf with a pillow, I unſaddled my jade, and made a pillow of my ſaddle, and ſo went ſupperleſs to bed. Sleep I could not, for fear my horſe ſhould ſtray away; however, it gave me ſome comfort to ſee he was likely to live, for he eat very heartily of the dry and withered graſs round about him, and ſeemed to pluck up his ſpirits, ſo I doubted not he would be able to travel the next day.

day. After I had lain down about an hour, I ſuddenly heard a hideous noiſe of howling, barking, and crying, as if a whole army of dogs were come into the wilderneſs: At firſt the noiſe ſeemed at a great diſtance, but the more I liſtened, the nigher it ſeemed to aproach me, and I thought I heard ſome human voices amongſt them. I was ſo terrified with this threatening danger, that my heart fainted, and a cold ſweat iſſued from my whole body, expecting nothing but death. I thought it would avail me nothing to fly for perhaps I might run myſelf into the jaws of death; and therefore I concluded the ſafeſt way was to lie ſtill, for if they were wild beaſts, they might follow their courſe another way, and I might eſcape; ſo recommending my ſoul to God, I kept cloſe: And this proved my ſafeſt courſe, for whilſt I lay ſweating and panting, dreading every cry, every howling and roaring, as an alarm to my death, about midnight the noiſe ceaſed of a ſudden, and I heard no more of it; and ſome time after, ſleep (in ſpite of all my agonies and fears) ſeized upon my wearied body, and forſook me not until the morning's glorious lamp greeted me with life and ſafety. When I awaked, my ſoul magnified the Lord for my deliverance from that night's danger, and for his protection of me, whilſt nature was performing her office, and refreſhing my ſpirits with ſo ſweet a reſpoſe, I then looked about, and ſaw my horſe feeding near the place where I had left him the night before. I immediately ſaddled him, and mounted, to find out my company, and to impart to them this moſt ſurpriſing cataſtrophe that had befallen me. I had not rode above a mile, when I came to a brook, where two ways met; the one went ſtreight forward, along which, in a proſpect of five or ſix miles, I could diſcover neither town, houſe, nor tree; the other way turned to the left hand, and about two or thre miles off, I ſaw a wood, and imagined there might be the town; I therefore took the left road, but within a quarter of a mile, my horſe failed again, and I was obliged to alight and lead him; this freſh diſappointment together with the uncertainty of the way, diſcouraged me very much; when looking about, I eſpied a thatched houſe near to the road, and ſaw a man riding towards me; he belonged to the houſe, which was the farm of a rich *Indian*, and governor of the next town: I aſked him how far it was to *Eſtepeque*; he ſhewed me the trees, and told me it lay a little beyond thoſe trees, but I could not ſee it until I came to it. Upon this I mounted again, and ſpurred on my ſullen horſe till I got to the trees, when he ſtood ſtill, and I could not force him to go any further. In this perplexity I diſmounted again, and hiding my ſaddle under ſome ſhrubs, I left my horſe, and walked about half a mile to the town, where I found my three friends, waiting for me, and in the utmoſt anxiety as to what was become of me. I related unto them, and to the *Indians* my miſhap, and the dreadful noiſe I had heard in the wilderneſs. The *Indians* ſaid this was common muſick to them almoſt every night, and that they were wolves and tigers hunting for prey, but that they were of ſo fearful a nature, that the leaſt hallowing would ſcare them away; this I ſuppoſed to be the occaſion of the human voice which I thought I heard amongſt them. After a ſhort diſcourſe, I returned with

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an *Indian* to ſeek my horſe and ſaddle, and bringing him into the town, I ſold the poor wearied beaſt, and hired another to *Ecatepeque*, whither we all went in company.

From hence we could diſcover the high mountains of *Quelenes*, which were the chief ſubject of our diſcourſe to *Sanatepeque*, and from thence to *Tapanatepeque*: For we had been informed by *Spaniards* and *Indians* in our way, that they were the moſt dangerous mountains to travel over in all thoſe parts; that there were on the top of them ſome paſſages ſo narrow, ſo high, and ſo open to the boiſterous winds that came from the ſouth ſea, which ſeemed to lie at the very bottom of them, and on each ſide of theſe narrow paſſages, there were ſuch deep precipices among rocks, that many times mules laden with heavy burdens, and man and horſe had been blown into them, and periſhed. This account terrified us very much; and we were in doubt which way to take, whether the common road to *Guatamala*, which lieth under thoſe mountains along the coaſt, and greatly about, or whether we ſhould ſteer our right courſe over the mountains to *Chiapa*, the ſame being paſſable with ſafety, if the winds did not blow very hard. However, to *Chiapa* we reſolved to go; becauſe the ſuperior and provincial of all the *Dominicans* in thoſe parts (to whom we ought to addreſs ourſelves) reſided there; beſides, we were deſirous to ſee that famous and much talked of province of *Chiapa*. In *Sanatepeque* we met with a friar, who entertained us very kindly and with great ſtate. He alſo order'd us a guide of *Indians* to *Tapanatepeque*; and gave us a letter to the chief man of the town, (who alſo was at his command) to provide us mules to carry us, and alſo *Indians* to guide us up the mountains. Here the reſt of our mules failed us, but that was neither a hindrance nor loſs to us; for the *Indians* were willing to give for them as much as they coſt us, becauſe they were the true *Mexican* breed; and all the reſt of our way the towns were to find us mules for nothing.

We came to *Tapanatepeque* (which ſtandeth at the foot of *Quelenes*) on a ſaturday night; aud upon account of the letter we carried, were very much welcomed and well entertained by the *Indians*. This town is one of the neateſt and pleaſanteſt of any we had ſeen from *Guaxaca* thither; and it ſeems as if providence had furniſhed it with all ſorts of neceſſaries, for the uſe of all thoſe who ſhould have occaſion to aſcend thoſe ſteep barren mountains. Here are *Indians* who have upon their farms, ſome a thouſand, ſome three or four thouſand head of cattle, fowls in abundance, and fiſh the choiceſt and beſt in all the country: Their gardens are alſo ſtored with many ſort of vegetables, and oranges, lemons, citrons and figs. The ſabbath morning was ſo calm, that we were tempted to make uſe of it to purſue our journey, leſt by a longer delay the winds ſhould force us to the coaſt of *Soconuſco*, a long way about. However the *Indians* intreated us to ſtay to dinner, promiſing to provide us with ſtrong and luſty mules, and ſtore of fried fiſh, fowls, fruits, or whatever elſe we deſired: We could not refuſe this kind offer, and ſtaid to dine with them. After dinner the mules were brought us, and two Indians to guide us, and to carry our proviſion, which was ſome fried fiſh, a cold roaſted capon, with as much fruit as might ſuffice us for a day;

for the chief aſcent and danger is not above ſeven Leagues, or one and twenty *Engliſh* miles; and then beyond the top of the mountain 3 miles, is one of the richeſt farms for horſes, mules, and cattle, in all the country of *Chiapa*, where we knew we ſhould be welcomed by *Don John de Toledo*, who then lived there. Though theſe mountains ſhew themſelves with ſeveral ſharp-pointed heads, and are many joined together, yet one of them is only known in that country by travellers, which is called *Maquilapa*, over which lieth the way to *Chiapa*. To this high, ſteep and craggy mountain we took our journey after dinner, and for that night were obliged to take our lodging upon a green plot of ground reſembling a meadow. The *Indians* comforted us, by telling us there were great ſigns of fair weather, and that we need not doubt being at *Don John Toledo*'s farm the next day by noon. Upon this encouragement we went to ſupper, and eat up our capon and moſt of our fried fiſh, leaving only a ſmall quantity for breakfaſt; the ſprings of water, like ſo many conduit pipes trickling down the rocks, afforded us melodious muſick to our ſupper; the *Indians* fed merrily and our mules contentedly.

The morning ſeemed as calm and pleaſant as the day before, and encouraged us haſtily to break our faſt with the morſel we had reſerv'd for that purpoſe, and then to aſcend further up the mountain upon our journey; we had not gone much above a mile, but we found the higher we mounted the more we heard the whiſtling of the wind, as if it forbade us to venture any further. We were now half way up, and doubtful what to do, whether to go forward, or to return to *Tapanatepeque*, or to ſtay where we were until the weather was more calm, which perhaps might be towards noon or evening. The *Indians* told us, that about a mile further there was a fountain of water, and a lodge made under trees on purpoſe for travellers who were benighted, or hinder'd by the winds from purſuing their journey up the mountain; and to this fountain we got with ſome difficulty; but the higher we climbed, the more boiſtrous and ſtrong we perceived the wind to grow. We were pleaſed with the fountain, but much better with the lodge, becauſe it was ſo well ſecured with trees round about it. The wind kept ſtill blowing and rather increaſing, and with it our fears, until the day was ſo far ſpent, that we had no hopes of proceeding backwards or forwards. Of any ſupper we deſpaired that night, having nothing to ſatisfy our hungry ſtomachs, but the remembrance of the plenty the night before; poor repaſt! Thus gazing one upon another, and ſometimes looking down on the fountain, ſometimes up to the trees, we eſpy'd at laſt amongſt them a tree full of green ſour lemons; we gather'd ſome of them, upon which we ſupp'd and took our reſt. The next day the wind was rather ſtronger than calmer, and we were as ſtrong in our reſolution to continue there and not to turn our backs like cowards: The *Indians* were alſo willing to ſtay one day longer: So we broke our faſt with the ſour lemons, which we found cool to an empty ſtomach: And of what was left on the tree, we made our dinner and ſupper: But perceiving the *Indians* had with them ſome ſmall bags full of powder, which they mixed with their water, being made of maiz, and thinking that might be more nouriſhing than lemons and wa-

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ter only, we purchaſed half of a bag of them for four *Ryals*, or two *Engliſh* ſhillings, which we might have bought in the town for a *penny*; and yet this was but weak nouriſhment for our feeble bodies. Thus we waited all Tueſday for the abating of the wind, reſolving either to proceed up the hill the next day, or to return to *Tapanatepeque*.

On Wedneſday morning the wind ſeemed to be ſomewhat laid; and we agreed to wait till towards noon, hoping then we might proceed with ſafety. In the mean time, one of our company reſolved to go up the mountain a mile or two on foot, to view the paſſages and the dangers we were to encounter, which perhaps might not be ſo great as we imagined. He ſtaid about two hours, and then returned, telling us, he thought we might go ſafe, by leading our mules: But this day was ſo far ſpent in queſtions and debates, that we judg'd it imprudent to proceed, reſolutely purpoſing to go forward the next morning if the wind did not increaſe. So this day we lived upon lemons, water and maiz powder, which we found had much weaken'd our bodies, and feared if we continued much longer, would haſten our deaths: Wherefore on Thurſday morning (the wind continuing as the day before) commending ourſelves unto the protection of Heaven, whom the winds and ſea obey, we mounted our mules, and went forward, having firſt engraved our names, and the days we ſtay'd there without food, upon the bark of a great tree. We perceived no great danger in the wind for ſome time; but the paſſages being narrow, we thought it moſt ſafe to alight, and lead our horſes. When we came to the top of the mountain *Maquilapa*, (which ſignifies in the *Indian* tongue, a head without hair) we truly perceived the danger ſo much talked of; for we really found it a head without hair, a top without a tree to ſhelter a weary traveller; the paſſage along this high precipice, I believe, may not exceed a quarter of a mile; but it is moſt dreadful to behold: On one ſide lay the great South-ſea, ſeemingly juſt under us, and dazzled our eyes to look down upon it; on the other ſide lay rocks and precipices ſo ſurprizingly deep, that it made our hearts ſhudder at the ſight; and in ſome parts of the paſſage, the way was not above an ell broad. We gave our mules to the *Indians* to lead one after another; and we followed in the ſame manner, creeping upon our hands and feet, not daring to walk upright, or to look down on this ſide or that, for fear of being ſeized with a giddineſs; and we carefully kept in the track of the mules until we got to the end of the paſſage, where the mountain was broader and ſhady trees afforded us relief: We then looked back boldly on the danger we had eſcaped; but accuſed ourſelves and other travellers of folly, in chuſing to run ſo great a riſque, rather than travel a few miles about with ſafety.

We made all the haſte we could to the houſe of *Don Pedro Toledo*, who gave us a hearty welcome. Here we got ſome warm broth, to relieve our empty ſtomachs, which were ſo weak, that at firſt we caſt all up again; till at laſt by often ſupping the broth, and now and then taking a little wine, we found ourſelves much comforted and recovered. We ſtaid with *Don Pedro* two days to refreſh ourſelves, and then went to *Acapala*, a very great town of *Indians*, in the province of *Chiapa*. From *Acapala* we went to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, (ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from *Chiapa*

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of the *Spaniards*) which lieth upon a fine river about a mile broad. Here we were kindly entertained by the friars, who looked upon us as members belonging to the corporation of their province, and assured us, that the provincial and chief superior would be very glad of our coming, because he wanted friars from *Spain* to oppose the *Creolians* and natives, who strove to get a-head, as they had done in *Mexico* and *Guaxaca*. We also understood that the provincial did not live above a day's journey from hence. In this place we met with our friend *Peter Borallo*, who had made his escape from *Mexico* alone: He encouraged us much, with relating the good and kind usage he had met with here; but withal, told us, that our superior *Calvo* was gone with the missionaries he had left from *Mexico* to *Acapulco*, who from thence had taken shipping for the *Philippines*; but that at his departure he had wrote a letter of bitter complaints against him and us four to the superior of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, desiring the provincial not to entertain us, but to send us back to *Mexico*, to be shipped the next year to the *Philippines*; but that the said letter was not regarded by the provincial.

After we had been entertained a week in *Chiapa*, we thought proper to present ourselves to the provincial, (whose name was friar *Peter Alvarez*) that from him we might receive our destiny, whether we should stay in that province, or be forced to return to *Spain*; for in no other part of *America* could we be entertained. We found him in a little town called *St. Christophers*, recreating himself in the shady walks of that town, which are many and pleasant. He received us very courteously, and entertained us with a stately dinner and supper, and before we went to bed condescended to wash our feet. The first day he said nothing to us about our continuing there; but the next day he discovered unto us his full resolutions, with many wise and cunning sophisms. For first he read unto us the letter which *Calvo* had wrote to him against us, expatiating upon it, how ill we had done in forsaking our first call to the *Philippines*; and the danger many *Indian* souls might be in by reason of our not going thither to convert and instruct them. Secondly, he told us, we had frustrated the king of *Spain*'s good hopes of us, who had been at great expences in sending us to *Mexico*, expecting by our means, many *Indians* of the *Philippines* might have been converted to christianity. Thirdly, he said he looked upon us as prisoners, and that we ought to be sent back to the viceroy of *Mexico*, and from thence to be shipp'd for *Manila*, according to *Calvo*'s demand: But for the present, he would not let us know what he intended to do with us. However, he bade us not to be discouraged, but to be chearful, and that after dinner we should hear more from him, when he had received an answer to a letter which he had sent to *Chiapa*, concerning the disposal of our persons.

These reasonings of the grave and old provincial disturbed our minds not a little: Imprisonment was a word in a high strain, which we could scarce digest; and this morning's breakfast, had taken away our stomachs to our dinner. We departed from the presence of this venerable old friar, and retired to a shady walk of orange-trees, belonging to the house where this superior lived. Here we conferred upon the discourse of *Alvarez*, and concluded we should certainly be sent back

prisoners

priſoners to *Mexico*, and from thence, like fugitive ſlaves be ſhipped for the *Philippines*. My hopes of ever ſeeing *England* again, my native country, were quite loſt! *Antonio Melendez* wiſhed himſelf once more upon the top of the mountain *Maquilapa*; another wiſhed himſelf with old *Calvo* at ſea, ſailing to *Manila*, though he was employed in nothing elſe but helping him to ſcrape his ruſty gammons of bacon. A motion was made to eſcape from *Alvarez*, as we had done from *Calvo*; to this, anſwer was made, that not knowing the country, which way ſoever we went, we ſhould be diſcovered; and that if we were ſent to *Mexico*, we ſtood a much better chance to eſcape by the way than now. I told them I could concieve no harſh uſage intended by the provincial from his ſmiling countenance, nor from the low and humble act of waſhing our feet the night before; that I verily believed he intended well to us, on account of our coming ſo far to offer ourſelves, for fellow-labourers, in that plentiful harveſt of ſouls belonging to his charge; and that I was certain he wanted our aſſiſtance, as natives of *Spain*, to oppoſe the factions of the *Creolians*. I then inſtanced the example of our friend and companion *Peter Borallo*, whom he had already incorporated into that province, and could not do leſs for us without partiality. Laſtly, I concluded, that if we could not be entertained here, the provincial would not ſend us back to *Mexico*, there to be diſgraced and ill treated, but would permit us at leaſt to return to *Spain*.

Whilſt we were in this conference, old *Alvarez* had been eying us from his window, and perceiving us to be much troubled at what he had ſaid to us, he ſent one of his familiar friends to comfort us, who asked us why we were ſo ſad and melancholy; telling us, that the provincial himſelf had taken notice of it. He told us to be chearful, that *Alvarez* wiſh'd us well, but that he had been much cenſured by the *Creolian* party for entertaining *Peter Borallo*, and that he wanted ſuch as us, to make a head againſt that party; for they would now grow more outragious, ſeeing four more come to weaken their faction; and therefore he muſt conduct the buſineſs with much diſcretion, ſince his beſt actions did not eſcape their cenſure: He further aſſured us, that we ſhould never be ſent back priſoners to *Mexico*, by the provincial; and that if he could not manage the affair to have us entertained in *Chiapa*, as he intended, he would favour us with money and friends, to enable us to return to *Spain*. This comfortable diſcourſe was a good ſtomach preparative to our dinners, to which we were now called by a bell rung for that purpoſe. When we came in, the ſmiling and fatherly countenance of the provincial cheared us more than all the chear that waited for us upon the table in ſeveral diſhes, though the great plenty of fleſh and fiſh, with fruits and ſweetmeats, might well become a nobleman's table. After dinner, the provincial aſſumed a merry and facetious air, ſaying, for diverſion, he would play a game at tables with each of us, not to win our money, for he adjudged we were poor after ſo long a journey; but he would ſettle the game thus, that if he won, we ſhould each of us ſay for him five *Pater-Noſters*, and five *Ave-Maries*; but if we were ſucceſsful, we ſhould gain our admittance and incorporation into that province. The propoſal pleaſed us well,

for

for our ſucceſs would at that time be more profitable to us than the winning of pounds, and our loſings were of little ſignification. The ſport began, and we young men taking our turns, were too hard for the old provincial, who, we could perceive, was willing to be the loſer, that his ill ſucceſs might ſpeak for him, what through policy and diſcretion he would not utter with words.

After our ſport was over, the *Indian* meſſenger, who had been ſent to the city of *Chiapa*, for the advice and opinion of the prior and chief of the cloiſter there concerning our diſpoſal, returned with a letter from the prior to *Alvarez*, in which he expreſſed great joy for our arrival, and earneſtly intreated the provincial to ſend us to him, who was very deſirous to confer with us; for that about ten years before he himſelf had been in our circumſtances, having deſerted from the miſſion at *Mexico*, going to the *Philippines*, and fled to *Guatemala*, where for his great learning and abilities, he had been much envied by the *Creolian* faction; but that now he hoped, by the aſſiſtance of theſe new-come *Spaniſh* friars, he ſhould be able to overcome this faction. After ſupper the provincial told us, that the next morning he would ſend us to *Chiapa*; for that the prior had wrote him word, he would meet us on the way, at a town called *St. Philip*. In the morning, the provincial cauſed four of his own mules to be ſaddled for us, and finely capariſoned; a dozen *Indians* on horſeback waited to conduct us to *St. Philip*; and after breakfaſt, the good provincial embraced us, and bid us farewel, deſiring us to pray for him, and not to be diſcouraged at any thing that happened, aſſuring us, that it was both in his power and in his will to ſerve us; nevertheleſs he muſt uſe policy and diſcretion, to prevent the reflections which might be caſt upon him by the *Creolians*, who hated both him and us. We then proceeded forward in a grand cavalcade, attended by trumpets and other muſick. As ſoon as we arrived at the top of the mountain, we ſaw in the valley the city of *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards*, with two or three ſmall villages, one of which was *St. Philip*, which lay at the bottom of the mountain. The trumpets and muſick ſounding before us, gave ſufficient notice to the inhabitants of *St. Philip* of our approach, and a ſecond breakfaſt was prepared for us, the cold morning air (which we found ſharp and piercing upon the mountain) having well prepared our ſtomachs for it. By that time we had deſcended the mountain about half a mile, we were met by above twenty *Indians* gallantly mounted, with their trumpeters ſounding before them; and behind came the prior of *Chiapa*, (whoſe name was father *John Baptiſta*,, a merry fat friar,) mounted upon a ſtately mule, richly capariſon'd. He ſaluted us by the name of brother fugitives, from the *Philippines*, told us we were welcome to that country, and to him eſpecially. Thus with pleaſant diſcourſe we deſcended the hill, at the bottom of which the inhabitants of the village of *St. Philip* waited for us, men and women, ſome preſenting us with noſegays, others ſtrowing flowers in our way, and dancing before us; in this manner we were conducted into the village, and from thence along a ſtreet ſtrew'd with ſweet herbs and orange leaves, to the church, where for about half an hour we were entertained

with

with the beſt muſick from the city of *Chiapa*, whom the prior had hired to come with him for that purpoſe. The muſick being ended, father *John Baptiſta* made a ſhort ſpeech to the *Indians*, returning them thanks for the kind reception they had given us, his ſpecial friends; and for this ſervice he promiſed a plenary indulgence of all their ſins paſt, to as many of them as ſhould viſit that church the next Lord's day, either before or after noon. From the altar we were conducted to the breakfaſt table, which was furniſhed with well ſeaſoned diſhes, and moſt delicate ſweet meats, made at the requeſt of the prior, by the nuns of *Chiapa*, inſomuch that we had not ſeen the like ſince our arrival in *America*. Whilſt we were thus ſplendidly entertained, we could not unriddle the myſtical expreſſions of the old prior, who would often ſay to us, *Brethren, make a good breakfaſt, for your dinner will be the meaneſt you ever eat in your lives, and now enjoy the ſweets of liberty, which will not laſt long.* We took notice of the words, but knew not what to make of them. After breakfaſt, we had about two *Engliſh* miles to ride to the city of *Chiapa*: the prior commanded our mules to be brought, and the trumpets and other muſick gave notice to the town of our departure, when we were conducted out of the village of *St. Philip*, with as much ſtate and pomp as we had been inducted into it. After the *Indians* had accompanied us about half a mile, father *Baptiſta* gave them thanks, and deſired them to return, becauſe being near the city and cloiſter of *Chiapa*, they muſt not uſe that gallantry and pomp which in the country was allowed. The *Indians* upon this took their leaves of us, and we proceeded with only two guides before us. Being come within half a mile of the city, the prior ſtoped, and taking out of his pocket an order from the provincial, he read it unto us, to this effect: "That whereas we had forſaken our 'lawful ſuperior *Calvo* in our way to the *Philippines*, and without his 'licence had come into the province of *Chiapa*, he muſt in conſcience 'inflict ſome puniſhment upon us, before he could enable us to abide 'there as members under him; therefore he ſtrictly commanded the 'prior of *Chiapa*, that as ſoon as we ſhould enter into his cloiſter, he 'ſhould confine us two and two in a chamber as in a priſon, for three 'days, and not to ſuffer us to ſtir out any where, ſave only to the 'publick place where all the friars met together to dine and ſup; that 'at noon we were to be preſent there, and ſeated upon the bare 'ground, and there to receive no other dinner but bread and water; 'but at ſupper we might have in our chambers whatever the prior was 'pleaſed to allow us." This was the penance enjoined us by the provincial, and it made us look a little melancholy, not knowing what might be the end of ſuch a beginning. The prior obſerving us in ſome diſorder, with a ſmiling countenance, deſired we would not think hard of him or of the provincial, who was obliged to lay us under penance, to ſatisfy the *Creolians*, who he knew would murmur, if no puniſhment was inflicted upon us. He aſſured us, that after the time of our impriſonment was paſt, we ſhould attain to honour and preferment; that as long as we continued with him, we ſhould want no encouragement; and that after our bread and water dinner, we

ſhould

ſhould not want a plentiful ſupper. Upon this promiſe our ſpirits revived, and we proceeded to the cloiſter of *Chiapa*, with modeſt demeanour, where we were welcomed by moſt of the friars; but in ſome few we obſerved a frowning and diſaffected countenance.

After we had been confined to our chambers a ſhort time, the bell rang for dinner, and we were conducted into the great hall, and ſeated on the ground croſs legged, in the preſence of all the friars, then ſitting at table with many dainties before them; to each of us was given a ſmall loaf and a pot of water, of which we made our dinner. However it was ſome ſatisfaction to us, to have a *Creolian* friar in our company, undergoing the ſame penance, for ſome love-letters which had been intercepted paſſing between him and a nun of that city, in which were many immodeſt expreſſions, contrary to their oath of profeſſed chaſtity. Thus with our *Creolian* neighbour's company, our bread and water went down chearfully; and dinner being ended, we were again conducted to our chambers, where we drank chocolate, which had been preſented to us by our kind provincial, as a reſerve in time of need. The *Caſtilian* friars ſoon paid us a viſit there, bringing us conſerves, ſweetmeats, and other dainties, to help to digeſt our bread and water. A ſupper was provided for us, agreeable to the promiſe of the prior, who honoured us with his own, and the company of two other friars, ſupping with us all together in one chamber: In this manner paſſed our three days of impriſonment; and I wiſh I may never ſuffer harder uſage in any priſon than I have done in this.

We were no ſooner ſet at liberty, but we preſently found the provincial and prior ready to fulfil their promiſe, namely, to diſpoſe of us in ſuch manner as would raiſe us to honour and preferment. Two were ſent into the country, to learn the *Indian* language, that they might be enabled to preach to the *Indians*, and thereby acquire a benefice. Myſelf and another deſired to go to *Guatemala*, that we might practiſe philoſophy and divinity in the famous univerſity of that city. Nothing that we could reaſonably aſk for, was denied us; only it was prudent that we ſhould not go to the univerſity until *Michaelmas*; becauſe then the ſchools were renewed, and new orders ſettled. In the mean time, the provincial knowing that the latin tongue was better taught in *England* than in *Spain*, and the grounds thereof much better learnt, and conſidering the want he had of a maſter of the latin tongue, to ſupply a ſchool in that cloiſter, for the education of the youths of *Chiapa* in grammar and ſyntax, deſired me to accept of that place until ſuch time as he ſhould think proper to ſend me to *Guatemala*, promiſing me all fitting encouragement, and that out of the ſchool annuity I ſhould have an allowance for books, and other neceſſaries, with leave to ride about to view the country whenever I pleaſed. I willingly accepted this kind offer, and remained in this employment from *April* to the end of *September*; where I was much eſteemed by the biſhop and governor, but more eſpecially by the prior, father *Baptiſta*, who always took me with him, when he rode about the country for his recreation.

In

In this city liveth commonly the governor, and the biſhop. The governor's place is of no ſmall value and intereſt; for his power reacheth far, and he trades much in cocoa and cochineal: He lords it over both *Spaniards* and *Indians* at his pleaſure. But ill-gotten goods ſeldom proſper, as don *Gabriel de Orſallana* found to his coſt, who was governor of the city and country of *Chiapa* in my time, for having ſent the value of 8000 crowns in cochineal, cocoa, ſugar, and hides, for the *Havana*, it fell into the hands of the *Hollanders*, and he loſt it all. The biſhop's place of that city is worth at leaſt 8000 ducats a year. Moſt of his revenues conſiſt in great offerings, which he yearly receives from the *Indian* towns, by going to them once a year to confirm their children, and none muſt be confirmed who do not offer a fair white wax candle, with a ribband, and at leaſt four rials. I have ſeen the richer ſort offer a candle ſix pound weight ſtuck very thick with rials from top to bottom. Don *Bernardino de Salazar* was the biſhop of this city in my time, who deſired my company to ride with him his circuit for one month, about the towns near *Chiapa*, and I was appointed by him to hold the baſon, into which the *Spaniards* and *Indians* threw their offerings, when he was confirming their children; and I always counted the money before I carried it up into his chamber; and found that month's collection amounted to 1600 ducats. This biſhop was ſomewhat covetous, but otherwiſe a man of a temperate life and good converſation, and very zealous to reform whatever abuſes were committed in the church, which coſt him his life before I departed from *Chiapa* to *Guatemala*, upon the following occaſion. The women of this city pretend to be afflicted with much weakneſs and ſqueamiſhneſs of ſtomach, which they ſay, is ſo great, that they are not able to continue in the church whilſt maſs is ſaid, without drinking chocolate and eating ſweetmeats: for this purpoſe, their maids uſed to bring them chocolate and ſweetmeats to church, in the middle of the ſermon: This created great diſturbance and moleſtation, both to the maſs and ſermon. The biſhop perceiving this abuſe, forbade the practice, but his orders not being obeyed or taken notice of, he thought fit to fix in writing on the church doors, an excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhould preſume at the time of ſervice to eat or drink in the church. This prohibition very much diſguſted the gentlewomen, who proteſted, that if they were debarred that privilege, they would not come to church: And ſome of the chief of them, knowing the great friendſhip ſubſiſting between the biſhop, the prior, and myſelf, deſired us to uſe all our intereſt with him, to revoke his excommunication edict, which threatened their ſouls with damnation for the violation of it. Accordingly we uſed all poſſible arguments with him, alledging the cuſtom of the country, the weakneſs of the women's conſtitution, the contempt which might fall upon his perſon, and many inconveniences which might happen, even to the raiſing of an uproar, both in the church and city, whereof we had already ſome probable conjectures. To which the biſhop anſwered, that none of theſe reaſons could move him, and that he preferred the honour of God, and his church, before his own life. The women finding him inexorable, began to ſlight

him, and to uſe him with ſcornful and reproachful words, and ſtill kept drinking their chocolate in the church, which cauſed one day ſuch an uproar in the cathedral, that ſwords were drawn againſt the prieſts and prebendaries, who attempted to take away the chocolate from the maids, when bringing it to their miſtreſſes. At laſt perceiving neither fair nor foul means would prevail with the biſhop, the women reſolved to leave the cathedral, and from that time moſt of the citizens frequented the cloiſter churches, where the friars did not moleſt them, though they adviſed them to obey the command of the biſhop; but they could not bear to hear his name mentioned, and denied to pay the prebendaries ſuch ſtepends for maſſes as they had formerly been accuſtomed to, conferring them all on the friars, who grew rich by the impoveriſhed cathedral. This laſted not long, for the biſhop publiſhed another excommunication againſt all the citizens who ſhould refuſe to reſort to the cathedral; which the women would not obey, but kept cloſe to their houſes for above a month. In the mean time the biſhop fell dangerouſly ill, and was deſirous of retiring to the cloiſter of the *Dominicans*, that the prior might take care of him in his ſickneſs. Phyſicians were ſent for far and near, who all with one conſent agreed that he was poiſoned, and he himſelf did not ſcruple it, praying heaven to forgive thoſe who had been the cauſe of it. He lay ill about a week, and died in the cloiſter, and as ſoon as he was dead, all his body was ſwelled to that degree, that he burſt, and ſoon corrupted. A gentlewoman with whom I was well acquainted in that city, having inſtructed her ſon in the latin tongue, and who was thought to be a little too familiar with one of the biſhop's pages, was ſuppoſed to have poiſoned the biſhop, through the means of this page, by adminiſtring to him a diſh of chocolate, which ſhe had poiſoned. I heard this gentlewoman ſay, ſhe believed few women in *Chiapa* grieved for his death; becauſe he was ſuch an enemy to them, as not to permit them to drink chocolate in churches; and therefore ſhe believed the chocolate at home did not agree with him. This made me very cautious of drinking chocolate in any houſe, when I was not well aſſured of the good-will of the family. The women of this place are ſomewhat light in their carriage; and if they are croſſed or diſappointed in their amours, they aſſuredly ſeek ſuch revenge by chocolate or conſerves, as ſhall carry death along with it.

There is another town called *Chiapa*, about twelve leagues from this city, which conſiſts chiefly of *Indians*, and is conceiv'd to be one of the largeſt towns in *America*, containing at leaſt 4000 families. This town hath many privileges granted to them by the king of *Spain*, and is governed by *Indians* (with ſubordination to the Spaniſh government of *Chiapa*) who chuſe an Indian governor, with inferior officers to rule with him. This governor hath the privilege of wearing a rapier and dagger, and enjoys many liberties which other Indians are denied. Don *Philip de Guzman* was governor of it in my time, a very rich Indian, who kept commonly in his ſtable twelve as good horſes for publick ſhew as the proudeſt Spaniard of them all. Nor was his courage inferior to his oſtentation; for in defence of ſome of the privileges of the town, he ſpent a

great

great sum of money in the chancery of *Guatemala*, and having overcome his adversaries, he caused such a feast to be made in the town, and such shews upon the water, as would have made no despicable figure in the courts of *Europe*. This town lies upon a great river, whereto belong many boats and canoes, in which Don *Guzman* made his Indians perform many notable sea-fights with great dexterity. They erect towers and castles made of wood and painted cloth, which they besige and take very regularly. The town is very rich, and many Indians belonging to it, trade about the country, as the Spaniards do. They have learned most trades belonging to a common-wealth, and follow and teach the same in their town. They want for no provision either of flesh or fish; having for the one many farms abounding with cattle, and for the other a great river abounding in fish. Here the *Dominicans* bear all the sway, and have a rich and stately church, with a subordinate chapel belonging to it. The heat is so excessive here, that the friars wear a linnen towel about their necks to wipe off the sweat from their faces; yet the evenings are fresh and cool, which are generally spent in many pleasant and shady walks by the river side. Two or three leagues from the town are two very great sugar-farms, one belonging to the cloister of *Dominicans* of the city of *Chiapa*, the other to the cloister of this town, upon which are about 200 negroes, besides many Indians, who are constantly employed in making sugar for all the country about. They breed here a great many mules, and excellent fine horses for all kind of service. The town of *Chiapa* of the Indians, wants for nothing but a more temperate climate, and cooler air. Wheat will not grow there; but for the Spaniards and such as cannot live without it, it is brought from *Chiapa* of the *Spaniards*: But this cannot be esteemed a want, because of the great plenty of maiz, which every town yields thereabouts, and which is now more used by the Spaniards and friars than bread of wheat.

Upon this country of *Chiapa* of the *Indians* borders the province of *Zoques*, which is absolutely the richest part of *Chiapa*. The towns are not very large, but exceeding rich in silk and cochineal, whereof the latter is held the best in *America*; and the store of it is so great, that no one province comes up to it. Few Indians there are, who have not their orchards planted with the trees whereon the worms grow which yield that rich commodity. There is great store of silk in this country, insomuch that the Indians employ their wives in working of it in many figures and colours; which the Spaniards purchase and send to *Spain*. It is curious to see the patterns these Indians make of silks, which might serve as samplers for the neatest ladies in *Europe* to work by. The people of this province of *Zoques* are fair of complexion, witty and ingenious. This country in some parts is hot, but in other parts it is very cold. There grows plenty of maiz here, but no wheat, neither is the flocks of cattle so great as about *Chiapa*.

The province called *Zeldales* lieth behind this of *Zoques*, and joineth south-eastward to such Indians as have not as yet been conquered by the *Spaniards*. These often make invasions upon the Christian Indians, burn their towns, and carry away their cattle. The chief town in this province is called *Occoingo*, which is a frontier against those heathens.

This

This province is esteemed rich by the *Indians*, abounding in cocoa, of which they make their chocolate. Here is also plenty of hogs, cattle, sheep, fowls, turkies, quails, honey, maiz, &c. and in my time, there was a sugar farm erecting near *Occocingo*, which it was thought would prove as beneficial as that near *Chiapa*. The country in most parts is high and hilly; but the town of *Occocingo* stands in a pleasant valley, amidst many brooks and streams of fresh water, which render it very fruitful, where the friars have attempted to sow wheat with good success.

CHAP. XI.

The author's journey from Chiapa *to* Guatemala, *with a description of the chief places in his way to that province.*

THE time being come that I was to leave the little city of *Chiapa*, and to go to *Guatemala*, I took leave of my best friends, whose children I had taught; and at my departure, I must confess, I found them kind and bountiful; but above all, the governor's lady was the most liberal unto me, sending me many boxes of aromatical chocolate, and one very great box with four divisions in it, in each of which were different conserves, besides many curious biskets made of eggs and sugar, a present more worthy a noble person than a poor mendicant friar; and she also sent me a dozen pieces of eight tied up in a fine handkerchief.

The first town I came to was *Theopixa*, six leagues from *Chiapa*, a great town of *Indians*. In this town the church is the most considerable building, which is very large and strong, and the band of musick belonging to it most excellent. The vicar or curate of this place was friar *Peter Martyr*, a *Creolian*, who could not endure the prior or me, though he knew how to dissemble a complimental friendship exceedingly well. However knowing my interest with the prior, he durst not use me ill, but gave me good entertainment whilst I remained with him, which was but two days, for I soon grew weary of his compliments. The third day I took my leave of him, and he conducted me to *Comitlan*, whither I was invited by the prior of that cloister, friar *Thomas Roupland*, a *Frenchman*, who being a stranger to the *Spaniards* (we two being the only missionaries in that country of a strange nation) was desirous of cultivating an intimate friendship with me, which he began with meeting me half way with a number of *Indians* on horseback, having provided a spacious arbour for our entertainment, which consisted of chocolate and other refreshments. Friar *Peter Martyr*, the *Creolian* was not a little chagrined to see me so much esteemed and caressed in this country. I staid a whole week at *Comitlan*, riding about with the prior unto the *Indian* towns in that neighbourhood, where I enjoyed much recreation and agreeable amusements, being feasted by the friars and *Indians* after the country fashion, who delight more in Epicurism than any part of *Europe*; and the *Indians* have instructed the *Spaniards* in several new methods of dressing their victuals to compleat their banquets or entertainments in a curious and even delicate manner.

After

After the week was ended, my friend, the *French* prior, conducted me to *Izquintenango*, where he ordered me to be well furnished with provisions to carry me over the mountains of *Cuchumatlanes*. This town standeth at the end of the valley of *Copanabastla*, within two leagues of the aforesaid mountains. It is one of the finest *Indian* towns of all the province of *Chiapa*, and very rich, by reason of the great quantity of cotton it produces and also of its situation, lying in the high road to *Guatemala*, so that all the merchants of the country, trading with their mules between *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*, travel through this town, enriching it with their money and traffick. It is plentifully stored with fruits, especially that called the pine apple. It is situated upon a great deep river, which runneth to *Chiapa* of the *Indians*, and over which there is a fine ferry well attended, which finds employment night and day by the great number of mules, fifty or sixty in a drove. When the prior of *Comitlan* had brought me hither, we were waited upon by the vicar of the town, and the principal *Indians*. This vicar was called friar *Hieronymo de Guevara*, little in stature, but great in state, pride, and vanity, as he shewed by the grand entertainment he made for us, both of flesh and fish. This man was a fine professor or power of mendicancy, who in twelve years that he had lived in this town, what by mumbling of masses for the dead and the living, what by shearing and fleecing the poor *Indians*, what by trading and trafficking with the merchants who used that road, could afford to send six thousand ducats to *Spain*, to the court of *Madrid*, simonaically to traffick for the bishoprick of *Chiapa*, which before I left the country, I heard he had obtained. After two days feasting, the prior of *Comitlan* and this vicar joined their interest and authority together to see me well furnished with *Indians* to conduct me to the first town of the *Cuchumatlanes*. A mule was prepared to carry my bedding (which we commonly had fixed in chests of leather, called Petuca's) another *Indian* was appointed to carry my Petaquilla, wherein was my chocolate and all impliments to make it; four more *Indians* were to ride before and behind me as a guard and guide: To all these I was to pay nothing, except to give them a cup of chocolate if I drank in the way, or when I came to my journey's end.

I took my leave of my friend the prior, and also of the vicar, who told me I must expect no friendly entertainment until I had passed over the *Cuchumatlanes*, and arrived at *Sacapula*, which was four days journey from thence: Yet he told me I might demand any service of the Indians, and call for what I had a mind to eat, without paying any money for the same, only writing down my expences in the common town-book. I was then ferried over the river, some small canoes going before us with the choristers of the church singing, and the trumpets sounding. Thus I went away from my friend somewhat heavy, having no other company but unknown *Indians*, leaving a pleasant and fruitful valley behind me, and having no prospect before me but high hills and steep mountains. Now I began to miss my old companions, *Melendez* and the rest, because we were a comfort to each other, in passing over the dangerous mountains of *Maquilapa*. However frightful the mountains of *Cuchumatlanes*

matlanes might look at a diſtance, yet as we approached near them, I found there was a way beteen them which we might paſs without danger or much difficulty, and that there were little towns in theſe mountains where I could reſt every night. The further I travelled, the more even and better I found the road; only I was a little incommoded with rain and dirt, which could not be avoided, it being the end of *Septimtember*, which is there the breaking up of winter. The firſt town I came to amongſt theſe mountains, was *St. Martins*, a little place of about twenty houſes. I went to the houſe of the *Franciſcan* friars, where I alighted, and called for the *Indians* who give attendance to travellers and paſſengers. I found them very courteous and tractable, bidding me welcome. They told me I might have any thing for my ſupper the place afforded, and I made choice of a pullet. I was glad I brought with me a large bottle of wine, for I began to feel the mountains much cooler than the valleys; therefore by this wine I found great refreſhment. My bed was made in a little thatch'd houſe, and *Indian* boys were ordered to ſleep in the next room to me, if I wanted any thing in the night. Thus having appointed the *Indians* who were to attend me in the next day's journey, and diſmiſs'd thoſe who had waited on me from *Izquintenango*, I went to reſt, and ſlept as ſoundly and contentedly as if had been in the beſt of company.

The next day being attended by two *Indians* only, having ſent my carriage by another, I took my journey to the next town called *Cuchumatlangrande*, becauſe it ſtandeth in the higheſt part of theſe mountains. This town is ſomewhat bigger than *St. Martins*; here I was entertained as the night before, with as good a ſupper as the houſe afforded, and the next morning there was nothing to pay, only writing down my name in the town-book, with the day of the month, and what I had expended. From this town I did not follow the direct road to the next, becauſe I had been informed at *Chiapa* of a ſtrange picture of our lady, which was amongſt thoſe mountains in a little town of *Indians* called *Chiantla*, which not being above a league out of my way, I was reſolved to ſee. The road was very bad, nevertheleſs I arrived there by noon. It is a ſmall town belonging to the *Mercenarian* friars, who doubtleſs would not be able to ſubſiſt in ſo poor a place, had they not invented this loadſtone of a picture of the bleſſed virgin, and cried it up for a miracle, on purpoſe to draw people far and near to pray to it, and to leave their gifts and their alms behind them, for prayers and maſſes. Such a maſs of treaſure and riches hath been exhauſted from weak illiterate people, and hoarded up in this town by the friars, that they have been enabled to build a cloiſter. The church is richly furniſhed, but eſpecially the high altar, where the picture ſtandeth in a tabernacle covered with half a dozen curtains of ſilk, ſattin, cloth of gold, with borders of gold lace, wearing a rich crown of gold beſet with diamonds and other precious ſtones: There hang before it at leaſt a dozen rich lamps of ſilver, and in the veſtry of the church are many candleſticks of ſilver, and cenſers to burn frankincenſe before it, beſides rich veſtments, ornaments for the altar, and hangings for the whole church. I was welcomed to this place by the friars, and my head was filled with relations of many ſtrange miracles, or lies, which they related to me of that picture. The

The next day I got into my road again, and came to the laſt town in the mountains, called *Chautlan*, where I ſtaid all that day and night; from thence I ſent a letter to the prior of *Sacapula*, to let him know, that I intended to be there the next day. In this town I was alſo very well entertained by the Indians, and liked the town the better for the excellent grapes with which it aboundeth, not planted like vineyards, but growing up in arbours, which demonſtrates, that if that land was cultivated with them, it would certainly yield as good grapes for wine as any in *Spain*. They are carried from this place to *Guatemala*, diſtant 40 leagues, and are ſold about the ſtreets there for rarities and great dainties; and ſuch they are; for from *Mexico* to *Guatemala*, there are none like them.

The next morning I was in haſte to be gone, that I might the ſooner reach to *Sacapula*, where I was to find ſome of my own profeſſion, with whom I knew I might ſtay and reſt a whole week if I pleaſed. I had not rode above three leagues before I began to deſcend into a low and pleaſant valley, to which I had no ſooner arrived, but I found in a fine arbour by a river's ſide, the prior of *Sacapula* waiting for me, whoſe name was *John de la Cruz*. I was ſurprized to behold him at firſt, for he had a great ſwelling round his neck, which hung over his ſhoulder and breaſt, and lifted up his chin and head. He aſſured me that this ſwelling had continued upon him ten years, and that the water of that river had brought it upon him, and many more inhabitants in the town. He was a *Biſcayan* born, and (like ſome of that country) not over burdened with wit; but he was a kind-hearted man, and affable, being well-beloved throughout the country, both by *Spaniards* and *Indians*. When I came to the town, I ſaw ſeveral perſons with ſwellings around their throats like the prior, which made me very unwilling to drink any chocolate made with that water, or to eat any thing dreſſed with it, until the prior told me it would not affect all alike, but only ſome, and thoſe chiefly who drank it cold: Upon which I reſolved to ſtay there four or five days, at the old prior's importunity, who earneſtly deſired me to continue with him, and he would learn me the *Indian* language in a few days. But higher matters calling me to *Guatemala*, I excuſed myſelf, and ſtayed with him five days with much recreation: Though this town is not very rich, yet ſome *Indian* merchants live in it, who trade about the country, and thereby got rich: The reſt of the people trade in pots and pans, which they make there of an earth fit for that purpoſe. But the principal merchandiſe of this place is ſalt, which they gather every morning from the ground that lieth near the river.

From *Sacapula* I went to a town called *St. Andrews*, ſix or ſeven leagues from *Sacapula*, a large place, but little remarkable in it, though there are ſeveral fine farms of cattle round about it. Nine leagues further brought me to a great town called *Zobajab*, and in this journey I had a great mountain to paſs: In the morning having refreſhed myſelf with chocolate, I ſet forward, attended by *Indians*; we had not gone above a league, before we began to aſcend the mountain, and the higher we mounted, the more ſhocking was the ſight, occaſioned by the many great rocks and hideous precipices,

ſome

ſome of them above a mile to the bottom. About the middle of the mountain, the *Indians* of *Zobajah* met us, with a mule for me, and another for my carriage. Here the way was very narrow, and a frightful precipice on one ſide above a mile to the bottom. I was very fearful to mount my freſh mule, and choſe to walk on foot; but the *Zobajah Indians* aſſured me it was a gentle creature, well uſed to the mountains, and that there was no danger. By theſe perſwaſions I mounted the mule, which I had no ſooner done, but ſhe begun to kick and friſk about in ſuch a manner, that down both we went tumbling over and over, but I ſoon got hold of a ſhrub, and a tree ſtopt the mule, with not much more damage than being terribly affrighted. The *Indians* ſeeing the danger I was in, and my happy eſcape, cried out, *Milagro! Milagro!* a miracle! a miracle! and *Santo! Santo!* a ſaint! a ſaint! and all the while they were helping me and my mule into the path again, they conſtantly kept ſaluting me with the term ſanto. I told them I was no ſaint, and that there was nothing more in my eſcape than a lucky incident, owing to the trees and buſhes which had broke my fall, and prevented my death. I was very angry with them for placing me upon ſuch a ſkittiſh creature, thus to endanger my life. But all my rage had no effect, to leſſen the conceit they had imbibed of my holineſs and ſanctity; for they are taught that the anger and wrath of the prieſts is the wrath of God, caſt out upon them for their ſins; therefore they kneeled down and kiſſed my foot. I endeavoured to perſuade them that I was a frail mortal like them; But to no purpoſe, a ſaint I muſt be, and a ſaint I remained in their opinion. They told me they had careleſsly miſtook the mules, having ſaddled for me the young friſky mule, which ſhould have carried my baggage. Whilſt they were unloading and ſaddling the right mule for me, I walked about a mile up the hill, when they overtook me, and I mounted again, riding very ſafe and comfortably; after ſome time I came to a place where was erected a very fine arbour, in which waited ſeveral *Indians*, who had come thither from *Zobajah* to meet me, having prepared there chocolate and other refreſhments for my reception. Amongſt theſe it was preſently rumoured, that I was a ſaint, and had wrought a miracle by the way; upon which they all kneeled down and kiſſed my foot. It was in vain to endeavour to convince them of their ſimplicity; for the more unwilling I was to accept the title, the more they preſſed it upon me; and all the way we went to the town, nothing was talked of but my ſanctity. When I arrived at *Zobajab*, I acquainted the vicar with what had happened, and of the fooliſh conceit of the *Indians*; at which he laughed heartily, and ſaid, that if I ſtaid long in town, all the men and women would come to offer gifts unto me, and to kiſs my feet. He knew well their inclinations, or had taught them this ſuperſtition; for I had ſcarce dined before a number of people were gathered together about the cloiſter to ſee the ſaint that was come to town, who had wrought a miracle in the mountain. I was now more troubled at the folly of the ſimple people than before, and deſired the vicar to rebuke them, which he would by no means condeſcend to do, but made a jeſt of it, telling

telling me, it was great policy for me to accept of this canonization from the *Indians*, for ſo long as we could poſſeſs them with a notion that we were ſaints, we could keep them in ſubmiſſion, and do what we pleaſed with them; and even command them and their fortunes at our pleaſure. Upon this I was contented to go down with the vicar to the church, and ſat down in a chair in the choir, repreſenting the perſon of ſuch a ſaint as they imagined me to be, tho' in truth but a poor ſinner. No ſooner had we taken our places, when the *Indians*, men, women, and children, came into the choir, and approaching me, they kneeled down, and kiſſing my feet, they deſired my bleſſing, ſaying their town was undoubtedly happy and bleſſed by my coming into it, and that they hoped their ſouls would be much more happy if they could obtain my prayers to Heaven for them; and for this purpoſe they made their offerings of money, honey, turkies, and other fowls; eggs, fruits, and mantles. The vicar who ſat by me, perceiving theſe offerings, was overjoy'd; for he knew I was obliged to purſue my journey, and would leave them all to him. I deſired him to ſpeak to the *Indians* in my behalf, and to excuſe my addreſſing them, becauſe I did not underſtand their language, (though the fools might have known, that had I been a ſaint, I muſt have had the gift of tongues) which he did, telling them, that as I had been but a ſhort time in their country, I did not perfectly underſtand their language; and therefore in my name, he gave them hearty thanks for the great reſpect they had ſhewn the embaſſador of God, witneſſed by ſo many kinds of offerings, which would aſſuredly remind both him and me of them and their families, when we offered up our prayers, to recommend them all to the protection of Heaven. Thus the ceremony ended, the *Indians* were diſmiſſed, and the vicar and I retired to the cloiſter, where he began to tell his eggs and fowls, and to ſurvey the other offerings: He ſaid he would take them, but would allow me ſomething for them at my departure: He then bid me welcome, telling me I was no troubleſome gueſt to him, but very profitable, ſince I had not only procured proviſion for myſelf during my ſtay, but for him many days after. He deſired me to keep what money they had given me, which amounted to forty rials, and twenty more he gave me for the offerings, which were worth above as much again. He then entertained me with a very elegant ſupper: And all this I got by a fall from a mule, and not breaking my neck. I was very deſirous of departing the next morning; but friar *John Vidall*, (ſo was the vicar named) would not permit it, ſaying, the next journey was at leaſt ten leagues, and therefore I ſhould reſt myſelf that day. This town of *Zobajah*, is the largeſt and faireſt of all the towns belonging to the priory of *Sacapula*, the *Indians* are rich in cotton mantles, plenty of honey, and great ſtocks of cattle and goats, though they have no wheat, but Maiz ſufficient. I had ſome ſmall offerings made me this day; but nothing like the day before; and therefore I told the vicar, that ſince I found the *Indians* devotion began to decay, I would travel forward early in the morning. This night the chief *Indians* of the place came to me, and offered their ſervice to attend me in my journey, but I refuſed to accept of their offer, telling them, I would not give them the trouble, only deſiring

three of the meaner ſort to guide me along, until I met with company from the next town, to whom I had ſent word to meet me on the road; which was readily granted me

The time I had appointed to ſet out, was 3 'oclock in the morning; which hour I was ready; and having drank my chocolate, I found the *Indians* waiting for me in the yard, with lighted pine ſticks in their hands, which burned like torches, and with which they uſed to travel in the night. A little diſtance from the Town, we met with rough craggy ways, which wanted light to travel with ſafety; but afterwards we had a plain champaign country, which continued about half way, when we met with a ſteep hill to deſcend. Here we met other *Indians*, who had ſet out from their town at midnight to meet us, (ſuch ſubjection are the *Indians* under to the commands of the prieſts) and here they had made a fire, and warmed water for my chocolate. The *Indians* of *Zobajah*, who had guided me hither, acquainted thoſe who were come from *St. Martin*'s to receive me, that I had performed a miracle with them, and was a ſaint; wiſhing them to reverence and reſpect me. After I had refreſhed myſelf with a cup of chocolate, I travelled forward towards the town of *St Martin*'s, where I arrived about noon. This town lying high, is cold, and in the neighbourhood they raiſe excellent wheat: They furniſh *Guatemala* with quails, partridges and rabbits, and have the beſt honey in the country. It is the firſt town we enter into under the government of *Guatemala*. The vicar of this place, named friar *Thomas de la Cruz*, belonged to the *Dominican* cloiſter of *Guatemala*, and was a *Creolian*, yet he entertained me very kindly. I ſtayed with him only that night; and in the morning, though I might have dined in *Guatemala*, I went ſome thing out of my way, to view one of the largeſt towns in thoſe parts, having heard of many curioſities in it; this town called *Chimaltenango*, and ſtands in a valley three leagues from the city of *Guatemala*, and conſiſts of three thouſand houſekeepers, rich *Indians*, who trade about the country, one of whom had beſtowed upon the church five thouſand ducats. This church gives place to none in the province of *Guatemala* for largneſs, richneſs and beauty; and in muſick, it exceeds moſt in the country. On the 26th day of *July*, which they call *St. Anne*'s day, is kept annually in this town one of the greateſt and fineſt fairs that ever my eyes beheld in thoſe parts. for merchants and merchandiſe; as alſo for all ſorts of ſports and diverſions, as bull baiting, horſe-racing, ſtage-plays, maſquerades, dances, and concerts in muſick, all performed by the *Indians* of the town. The vicar of this place was a *Dominican*, belonging to the cloiſter of *Dominicans* in *Guatemala*, his name friar *Alonzo Hidalgo*, and a very old man. He was a *Spaniard* born, but having been brought up in this country from his youth, and having taken his habit and vow in *Guatemala*, amongſt the *Creolians*, he degenerated from his birth and country, and bore great hatred to the natives of *Spain*. He was alſo a deadly enemy to the provincial, becauſe he expected to be provincial through the favour of the *Creolians*. This friar I ſoon perceived was for picking a quarrel with me whilſt I was with him. He told me I was welcome, though he had no reaſon to bid any perſon welcome who was come

from *Spain*, becauſe he had reaſon to believe they came with deſign to ſupplant thoſe who had been born and brought up in their own country; and that, for aught he knew, I myſelf, by endeavouring to learn the *Indian* language, might one day diſpoſſeſs him of that town, of which he had been vicar above ten years. He railed much againſt the provincial and friar *John Baptiſt*, the prior of *Chiapa*, whom he knew to be my friends: But to all this I anſwered not a word, having reſpect to his grave old age. At laſt he told me, that he heard ſay, that the *Indians* of *Zobaja* had cried me up for a ſaint, which he could not believe of any that came from *Spain*, much leſs of me, who came from *England*, a country of hereticks. But he was more apt to believe, that I came as a ſpy, to view the riches of their country, and to betray them to *England*; and that in *Guatemala* there were many rich pieces, particularly a picture of our lady, and a lamp in the cloiſter of the *Dominicans*, which he doubted not I would carefully pry into: I anſwered him merrily, that I would be ſure to take notice firſt of the riches of his chamber, for pictures, hangings and fine cabinets; and that if the *Engliſh* came into theſe parts in any reaſonable time, I would conduct them to it. He ſoon perceived I was determined to turn all his ſarcaſms into jeſt and ridicule and therefore he ſaid no more to me on this head. Dinner being over, I told him, I ſhould not ſtay to ſup with him, but would go to the cloiſter in *Guatemala*, and therefore deſired he would order ſome of his *Indians* to guard me thither; which he readily granted, fearing perhaps that I might in the night rifle his chamber of the rich idols and ebony cabinets. The *Indians* being ready, I took my leave of this murmuring *Dominican* friar, and ſet out for *Guatemala*. I paſſed through a large town of *Indians*, in a pleaſant valley, which reacheth almoſt to *Guatemala*, the houſes lying ſcattered all the way, mixed here and there with many fine ſeats belonging to the *Spaniards*, who reſort thither from the city for their recreation. This town is called *Xocotenango*, on account of a fruit or plumb, called *Xocotte*, which grows there and in that neighbourhood in great plenty. It is freſh and cooling, and of a yellow colour when ripe. They drop from the Trees for want of gathering, and the ground is covered with them, and the *Spaniards* feed great droves of Hogs with them, eſteeming them for that uſe much better than acorns. There are many fine gardens in this town, which ſupply the city of *Guatemala* with herbs, roots, fruits and flowers all the year. There are alſo in this town three water-mills, the largeſt of which belongeth to the *Dominican* friars of *Guatemala*, who keep a friar there conſtantly to overſee the work, and three or four Negroes to attend the mill. So covetous are theſe friars, that they will even turn duſty millers to get rich. The front piece of the church of this town is eſteemed the moſt curious piece of workmanſhip in theſe parts, and the high altar within is alſo rich and ſtately, being overlaid with gold. I made no ſtay in this place, but continued my journey to *Guatemala*.

CHAP. XII.

A description of the government, riches, and greatness of the city of GUATEMALA, *with the territories thereunto belonging.*

I HAD not rode above a mile from the church of *Xocotenango*, when I left behind me the hills and mountains, and enter'd into a spacious plain. By the great fame and report given me of the grandeur of *Guatemala*, I thought to have seen a city walled and fortified to keep out an enemy; so I rode on until I passed by a new built church, with some little mean houses on one side, and dunghills on the other. I enquired what town this was, and was told it was the city of *Guatemala*. My high conceptions of the place soon lowered, and I rode on, with houses on my right hand and dunghills on my left, until I entered another street, with some better houses on both sides the way, which began to look like a city. At the end of the street I discovered a stately cloister, to which I was directed. I went to the back gate, and enquired for the prior, to whom I delivered my credential letters; when he had read them, he gave me a kind salutation, and a hearty welcome; assuring me, that for the provincial's sake, I should want no encouragement; and that he would do much more for me than the provincial had recommended to him in his letter to do. He told me he had been brought up in *Spain*, in the kingdom of *Asturias*, where many *English* ships used to come, by which means, he had contracted a great familiarity and friendship with many of my countrymen, that he loved an *Englishman*, and that as I was one, and a stranger, he would shew me all the favour in his power. It was a great comfort to me to meet with so good a friend, after all my travels and fatigues. He was the chief master and reader of divinity in the university, his name was Dr. *Jacintho de Cabannas*. He finding my inclination to follow the schools, and especially to hear from him some lessons of theology, within the first quarter of the year that I had been his constant and attentive auditor, graced me with a publick act of divinity, which I was to defend under his direction and moderation, in the presence of the whole university and assembly of doctors and divines, against the tenets of *Scotus* and *Suarez*. But the principal and head conclusion was, concerning the birth of the virgin *Mary*, whom both *Jesuits*, *Franciscans*, *Suarezists*, and *Scotists*, hold to have been born without original sin, or any guilt or stain of it. Against these foolish and misgrounded notions, I maintained by several solutions of arguments, that both she and all *Adam*'s posterity were conceived in original sin; and that they who disbelieved it, could not believe the doctrine either of the old or new testament. A publick act of this kind had not been controverted in this university for many years before. The *Jesuits* stamped, clapt their hands, railed, and condemned my arguments for heresy; saying, that for me, to hold such an opinion, who had my birth in *England* among hereticks, was no wonder; but for Dr. *Cobannus*, born among *Spaniards*, brought up in their Universities, a publick professor and reader of divinity amongst them, and prior of the cloister of *Guatemala*,

Guatemala, to countenance and support such an opinion, they could not help marvelling at it. This doctrine was supported by me, with such solid arguments in this publick act, that though I lost my interest among the *Jesuits*, I so established my credit with Dr. *Cabannas* and the *Dominicans*, that I was ever after highly esteemed by them, and had more honours and preferments conferred upon me, during the twelve years I continued with them, than ever any stranger had who came amongst the *Spaniards*.

At the ensuing *Michaelmas* a new reader or master of arts was to be appointed for the university, to begin with logick, continue through the eight books of physicks, and to end with the metaphysicks. I was recommended by Dr. *Cabannas* and friar *John Baptist*, the prior of *Chiapa*, to the provincial and whole chapter of the province, for reader of arts in the university of *Guatemala*: And their suit was so earnest, and their interest so great, that I was elected without opposition; and they brought me my letters patent for that dignity, signed by friar *John Ximeno*, the provincial. This honour conferred upon me a stranger and new-comer into the province, raised an inveterate hatred against me amongst the *Creolian* party, who expected that preferment to be conferred on one of them. However it made me the more eager in pursuit of learning, I therefore frequented the academy lessons with more care and diligence, and spent day and night in study, that I might gratify the expectations of my best friends. I continued three years in this university as reader of arts, during which time I avoided the common offices of the convent, such as often preaching, and hearing the confessions of such men and women as resorted for that purpose to the church of the cloister. Yet my good friends, Dr. *Cabannas* and the prior of *Chiapa*, were often very importunate with me to obtain the bishop's licence to hear confessions, and to preach abroad in the city and country (for in the church of the cloister I did sometimes, though not often, preach by the permission of the provincial) but this I strongly refused, until the provincial came to *Guatemala*; and hearing me preach before him, he was so well pleased with the discourse, that he would by all means have me further licenced and authorised by the bishop, that I might not be confined within the limits of the cloister, but might freely preach abroad in other churches, whereby I might get money sufficient to furnish me with books. He therefore ordered me to be examined by five able divines for three hours (as is the custom of the order) and having obtained their approbation, he presented me to the bishop for a licence. The bishop being my great friend, made no hesitation to gratify the provincial's request, and granted me his licence in the following words.

" We, *John de Sandoval y Capata*, master and lord friar, by divine " grace, bishop of *Guatemala* and *Vera Paz*, and one of his majesty's " council, by these presents grant licence to father friar *Thomas* of *St.* " *Mary*'s (so was my name then) of the order of preachers, that through- " out all our bishoprick he may and do preach the word of God, " and that he may and do administer the holy sacrament of penance " generally to all persons, who shall have devotion to confess to him,

" (*Nuns*

" *(Nuns excepted)* and that he may and do abſolve all perſons who " ſhall confeſs with him, from all their ſins, crimes, and exceſſes, " excepting ſuch caſes as are referved to his holineſs, and to us by canon " right. Dated in the city of *St. James* of *Guatemala*, this 4th day " *December*, in the year of our Lord, 1629.

" *By command of* *Signed,*
my moſt illuſtrious lord. JOHN, *Biſhop of* Guatemala."
Peter Ramirez de Valdes, *Secretary.*

The reaſon why the biſhop excepted nuns in this licence was, becauſe there was at this time in the cloiſter of *Guatemala*, a nun called *Donna Juanna de Maldonado y Paz*, daughter of one of the ſix judges in chancery. This nun the biſhop dearly loved, and was often ſecretly with her in the cloiſter: Theſe private conferences he was jealous might be known in confeſſion, and therefore would ſuffer none to hear the confeſſions of the nuns, but ſuch as were his moſt intimate friends, and in whom he placed an intire confidence; alledging this reaſon, that ſuch as hear the confeſſions of the nuns, ought to be learned divines, and reverenced for their age, experience, and wiſdom; for that there were more difficult caſes of conſcience in nuns confeſſions than in others; by which this biſhop would inſinuate, that there were more grievous ſins committed within the ſacred walls of a nunnery than in the wide world, for which it would puzzle the moſt learned prieſt to grant a diſpenſation or abſolution.

With this full and ample commiſſion, to read, preach, confeſs, and abſolve, I was inveſted by the biſhop and the provincial; and in this ſtation I might have remained during the courſe of my life, in the city of *Guatemala*; but I lived there but three years and a half, for reaſons I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

The city of *Guatemala*, (called by the *Spaniards Santiago* or *St. James* of *Guatemala*) is ſeated in a valley not above two miles and a half broad, but in length, extending to the South-Sea, which lieth about twelve leagues from it. It is environ'd with two very high mountains, the one is a volcanoe or mountain of fire, at the top whereof is a wide opening, out of which, not many years ago, it threw ſuch a quantity of aſhes, as filled the country round about, and even reached the city itſelf, and deſtroy'd all the plants and fruits of the earth; it alſo caſt up into the air, ſtones bigger than a common houſe, many of which fell near *Guatemala*, and are to be ſeen there to this day, not being poſſible to be removed, either by the art of man or ſtrength of beaſts. The flame ariſing from the volcanoe, is ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs. At one time whilſt I lived in the city, the flame was ſo great for three or four days and nights; that, Dr. *Cabannas* confidently declared to me and others, that in the night, ſtanding at his window, he plainly read a letter by the light of it, the diſtance being above three Engliſh miles. The roaring of this mountain is greater in ſummer than in winter; for the winds then entering the concavities of the earth, blow up the fire to a greater fierceneſs, which cauſes the mountain to make a terrible noiſe, and the earth to ſhake. About three years before my arrival there, the inhabitants expected nothing but ruin and deſtruction; the earthquakes continuing

enuing and increasing for nine days together, insomuch that they durst not stay in their houses, but made themselves arbours and tents in the fields. They placed their idol saints and images in the market-place, more especially their patron *St. Sebastian*, whom they hoped would deliver them from the threatning danger; and for this purpose during the nine days bellowing and shaking of the mountain and the earth, they carried him about the streets in solemn procession, and idolatrous adoration. These phænomenon at first were very shocking to me, but grew so customary and habitual, by my long abode here, that I seemed not to regard them, but esteemed *Guatemala* the healthiest and most pleasant place to dwell in of any I had met with in all my travels. The climate is very temperate, far exceeding either *Mexico* or *Guaxaca*. Neither are the markets of these two cities better supplied with beef, mutton, veal, kids, rabbits, pheasants, partridges, quails, turkies, and fowls of all sorts, as well as herbs and fruits. For plenty of beef it exceeds all parts of *America*, without exception, as appears plainly by the great number of hides annually sent to *Spain* from the province of *Guatemala*. And beef was so cheap, that it seems to me it was sold thirteen pounds for half a Rial, or three pence Sterling. And for fish, the South-Sea, the many fresh rivers upon that coast, and the neighbouring lakes, supply them plentifully. Through all the country there are many great and famous farms for breeding and grazing: and the marshes bordering upon the South-Sea, are so great and extensive, that the number of cattle feeding thereon was surprising; insomuch that one grasier assured me, he had at that time forty thousand head of cattle grazing upon his farm great and small. I happen'd to be at a fair in the town of *Petapa*, with a friend of mine, one *Lopez de Chaves*, a proveditor, for six or seven towns in that neighbourhood, who bought of one man six thousand head of cattle, for which he paid one with another, eighteen Rials, or nine shillings a head, which is two thousand seven hundred pounds sterling for the whole.

The manner of supplying the city of *Guatemala*, and the adjacent towns, with fresh meat, is thus: Proclamation is made nine days together before *Michaelmas*, for an obligado to come in, or a person who will be bound to provide fresh meat for the year ensuing; and he who on *Michaelmas* day hath offered to do it at the cheapest rate, is the obligado. And every family is obliged weekly to deliver unto him or his substitutes, an estimate of the fresh meat they shall want for that week, and he is bound to supply them agreeable to that estimate; if he fails in beef, he is to supply them with mutton at the same price, or veal; if he fails in mutton and veal, he is to supply them with any kind of fowls at the same price. And all this he enters into an obligation to perform, with security to the king, in a certain sum of money agreed upon by the court. So that there are no butchers allow'd in these parts, only such as work under this one obligado, who is obliged to sell so many pounds of meat for so much money, and if any other offers to kill or sell any meat, he may bring and maintain an action against him for damages. Tho' mutton be not so plentiful as beef in this province; yet they are supplied from *Pinola*, *Petapa*, *Amatitlan*; the marshes on

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the South-Sea, and the valley of *Mixco*; in which laſt place I have lived, and was well acquainted with one *Alonzo Capata*, who had conſtantly four thouſand ſheep running in that valley. *Guatemala* is therefore ſtored with ſo great a quantity of good proviſion, that it is rarity to find a beggar in it; for a poor man, for half a Rial, or three pence, may buy meat enough to ſerve him a week, and for a few cocoa's, may buy as much bread of *Indian* corn as he can eat in the ſame time.

This city conſiſts of about five thouſand families, beſides a ſuburb of *Indians*, making two hundred ſamiles. The fineſt and richeſt part of the city, is that where the cloiſter of *St. Dominick* is erected. For here are the beſt ſhops, and the moſt ſtately buildings, with a market every day. As to the richneſs of it, this city yields to none: In my time there were merchants eſteemed worth forty, fifty, and ſome few a hundred thouſand ducats a piece. There were five merchants, eſteemed to be of equal worth, which was five hundred thouſand ducats each: The firſt was *Thomas de Siliezer*, a *Biſcayan* born, and the King's high juſtice, or chief officer at court: The ſecond was *Antonio Juſtiniano*, a *Genoeſe* born, and one that had many houſes and tenements, both in the city and country, beſides a great and rich farm for wheat, corn, and ſtock in the fruitful valley of *Mixco*: The third was *Pedro de Lira*, born in *Caſtile*: The fourth and fifth *Antonio Fernandez* and *Bartholomew Nuncz*, both *Portugueze*. Theſe had thus prodigiouſly enriched themſelves by following merchandize and other buſineſs in this part of the new world; and ſhew the great wealth and trade of this rich city of *Guatemala*. The governors of all the provinces round about, as *Honduras*, *Soconuſco*, *Comayaga*, *Nicaragua*, *Coſtarica*, *Vera Paz*, and *Chiapa*, are ſubordinate to the chancery of *Guatemala*. For tho' every governor over theſe ſeveral provinces is appointed by the king and council of *Spain*, yet when they come to take upon them the charge and execution of their office, their actions, if arbitrary and unjuſt, are adjudged and cenſured by the court of chancery held in this city, which conſiſteth of a preſident, two chief juſtices, 6 judges and a king's attorney. The preſident, though he hath not the name of viceroy, as in *Mexico* and *Peru*, yet his power is as great and abſolute as theirs. His ſalary from the king is but 12,000 ducats a year; yet if he be covetous, he may make twice as much more, nay, even what he pleaſes; as was demonſtrable by the count *de la Gomera*, lately preſident here, for the ſpace of 14 years, who in his old age retired to the *Canaries*, and carried off with him millions of ducats. The ſalary which the king alloweth to every judge in this court of chancery is 4000 ducats, and 3000 to his attorney; all which is paid out of the king's exchequer at *Guatemala*; beſides what they get by bribes, trading, *&c.* which is ſo much, that I have heard Don *Lewis de las Infantas*, ſay, that though a judge's place at *Mexico* and *Lima* is much more honourable, yet it is not more profitable than *Guatamala*. They try murders, rapes, robberies, and all ſorts of crimes; and when it was expected offenders would be hanged, baniſhed, or impriſoned, bribes cleared all, ſo that I never knew an execution in that city for above eight years.

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Though the churches are not ſo fair and rich as thoſe of *Mexico*, yet they are wealthy enough. There is but one pariſh church and a cathedral belonging to the city. All the other churches belong to the cloiſters, which are *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, *Mercenarians*, *Auguſtines*, and *Jeſuits*; and two of *Nuns*, called the *Conception* and *St. Catherine*. But the cloiſter of the *Dominicans* exceeds them all for the ſtateline's of the buildings, in which is the univerſity, where I was ſituated. The revenues of this cloiſter amount yearly to thirty thouſand ducats. Beſides which, in the church there is a lamp of ſilver hanging before the high altar, ſo heavy, that it required the ſtrength of three men to draw it up; as alſo a picture of the *Virgin Mary* of pure ſilver, and of the full proportion of a tall luſty woman, which is placed in a tabernacle made on purpoſe for it, with at leaſt a dozen ſilver lamps burning before it. A hundred thouſand ducats would not balance the treaſure belonging to this church and cloiſter. And within the walls there is nothing wanting which may afford pleaſure and recreation. There is a ſpacious garden, with the fountain in a middle of it, which throws water into two adjacent ponds, by at leaſt a dozen ſpouts. There are two other gardens for herbs and fruits, in one of which is a fine canal a quarter of a mile in length, paved at the bottom, and a low ſtone wall around the ſame. Here the friars keep a pleaſure boat, and this canal abounds with ſeveral ſorts of fine fiſh; ſo that whenever they pleaſe they take enough to ſerve the whole cloiſter for dinner.

Next to the cloiſter of *Dominicans* is that of *Nuns*, called the *Conception*; in which (when I was there) were above a thouſand women, not all *Nuns*, but ſervant maids or ſlaves and young children, which were taught to work by the nuns. The nuns who are profeſſed, bring with them their portions, five hundred ducats at leaſt, ſome ſix or ſeven, ſome a thouſand; all which go to the cloiſter at their deceaſe; ſo that by this means this nunnery is very rich. In this cloiſter lived Donna *Juana de Maldonado*, judge *Juan de Maldonado y Paz's* daughter, before ſpoken of, who was ſo great a favourite of the biſhop's. She was very fair and beautiful; and the biſhop was ſo enamoured, that he endeavoured all in his power to make her abbeſs, tho' ſhe was ſcarce twenty years of age, which cauſed a great diſturbance amongſt the antient nuns within the walls, as well as an inſurrection and mutiny amongſt the merchants and gentlemen without, who had daughters there. Theſe laſt ran with their ſwords drawn to the cloiſter, and threatened to break in amongſt the nuns, to defend their daughters againſt the powerful faction which the biſhop had formed in favour of this young lady being abbeſs. And they would certainly have violated the nunnery, if the preſident had not ſent the young nuns to diſſuade her, upon account of her youth, from entertaining any ſuch ambitious thoughts. Thus the diſturbance ceaſed both within the walls and without, to the diſgrace as well as diſappointment of the biſhop, and the tuition of the nuns continued under the old abbeſs, a grave, able and religious matron. It muſt be confeſſed, that this young lady was the admiration of the whole cloiſter for her excellent voice and ſkill in muſick, her carriage and education,

which the biſhop ſaid moved him ſo much to delight in her company and converſation. Her father thought nothing too good or too rich for her, being an only child. The biſhop beſtowed all his income upon her, for dying whilſt I was there, he left not wherewithal to pay his debts. Inſomuch that Donna *Juana* was grown ſo wealthy, that at her own expence ſhe built an apartment for herſelf within the cloiſter, with fine galleries and a private garden to walk in, and kept half a dozen maids to wait upon her. She alſo erected a private chapel to pray in, in which was an altar adorned with ſilver candleſticks, crowns, and lamps, and covered with a canopy embroider'd with jewels and gold. In this chapel ſhe had alſo a ſmall organ and many ſorts of muſical inſtruments, with which ſhe uſed to entertain her beloved biſhop. Thus ambition and luxury creep into the walls of a cloiſter, and poſſeſs the hearts of nuns, who ought by their profeſſion to be humble, poor, and mortify'd virgins. Nor is the city leſs vicious than the cloiſters, where not only idolatry, but fornication and uncleanneſs is publickly practiſed.

All the coaſt adjoining to *Guatemala*, eſpecially about a town called *Izquinta*, is actually the richeſt part of the country; for there is made the greateſt part of the indigo which is ſent from *Honduras* to *Spain*, beſides the mighty farms of cattle which are along that marſh. But tho' the living there be profitable, and the ſoil rich, yet it is very uncomfortable, by reaſon of the prodigious heat, thunder, and lightning, eſpecially from *May* to *Michaelmas*. This rich country runs along the ſea ſide to the village of *Trinidad*, which (though ſomewhat dangerous) is a haven for ſhips from *Panama*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*. The whole coaſt hath neither fort, caſtle, or fortification to ſecure it from an enemy, The merchants effects are brought to the ſea-port, and there ſtored in an old ruinated caſtle, called *St. Thomas de Caſtilia*. Here perhaps they lie two or three months, waiting for the ſhips to come in; and all the guard ſet over them, is two or three Indians and as many Mulattoes. I have often heard the *Spaniards* jeſting and laughing at the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, who would often come into the gulph of *Guatemala*, and go out again, without making any attempt upon the land, where there lay ſo much rich merchandiſe. But whilſt I lived there, the *Hollanders* ſet upon *Truxilla*, *Comayagua*, and *Honduras*, and took it; the people flying to the woods, truſting more to their feet than to their hands, ſuch cowards is all that country full of. But the *Dutch* inſtead of improving their acquiſition, and proceeding to *Guatemala*, where they would have met with no reſiſtance, left *Truxilla*, contenting themſelves with a ſmall pillage. On this occaſion the *Spaniards* made great rejoicings and proceſſions of thankſgiving for their ſafe deliverance out of the hands of their enemies.

The chief danger in travelling from the ſea-port to *Guatemala* is among the mountains, which are infeſted by ſome hundred Blackmoors, who have fled from their maſters, and lurk about theſe mountains; where they live, bring forth children, and increaſe daily; inſomuch

inſomuch that all the power of *Guatemala*, and the country adjacent (tho' they often attempted it) are not able to bring them under ſubjection. Theſe often ſet upon the mules, and rob them of whatſoever neceſſaries they want, as wine, cloathing, weapons, &c. without doing any harm to the people that attend them. Their arms are bows and arrows, which they always carry about them, to defend themſelves if the *Spaniards* attack them, otherwiſe they moleſt no travellers who do not give them any diſturbance. They ſay the reaſon of their flying to theſe mountains upon the coaſt, is to be ready to join the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* whenever they they ſhall happen to land there, who they know will give them their liberty, which they can never hope to enjoy from the *Spaniards*.

About fifteen leagues from *Guatemala* is a great town of *Indians* called *Aracabaſtlan*, ſtanding upon a river, in which are the fineſt fiſh in the world, called *Tepemechim*, a kind of trout, the fat whereof reſembles veal more than fiſh. This town is governed by a *Spaniard*, who is called a corrigidor. His power extendeth no further than to the gulph and thoſe towns in the way. This Governor hath often attempted to ſubdue the Blackmoors, but could never effect it. Amongſt theſe mountains the *Spaniards* found mines which produced a red metal, but they finding it to be iron and copper only, were too lazy to work them. They loſt however, the diſcovery of a more precious metal than either iron or copper, by their cruelty to the *Indians*. For between this town of *Aracabaſtlan* and *Guatemala*, there is a river called *el Aque Calente*, out of which the *Indians* uſed to gather ſuch ſtore of gold, that they paid their annual tribute with it to *Spain*. Whereupon theſe *Spaniards*, like thoſe of *Valdivia* in *Chili*, too greedy after it, tortured the *Indians* ſo grievouſly, becauſe they would not diſcover where this gold lay, that in the end they loſt both the treaſure and the *Indians*. Yet to this day ſearch is made about the mountains, the rivers, and the ſands for this hidden treaſure, which peradventure, by the order and appointment of heaven, doth and will lie hid, and be kept for a people more honouring their God.

At this place called *el Aque Calente*, or the hot water, liveth a Blackmoor, upon a farm of his own, who is very rich, and gives good entertainment to all travellers who paſs that way. He hath a great ſtock of cattle, ſheep, and furniſhes *Guatemala* with the moſt and beſt cheeſe of any farmer in the country. It is thought his riches do not ſo much increaſe from the produce of his farm, as from this hidden treaſure, which he is ſuſpected to know of. He hath been often queſtioned about this ſecret in the chancery of *Guatemala*, the knowledge whereof he hath as often poſitively denied. The occaſion of this jealouſy and ſuſpicion was, that having been a ſlave, he bought his freedom with great ſums of money, and ſince he has been free, he hath purchaſed that farm, and a great deal more land to it, and prodigiouſly increaſed his ſtock. To which he anſwered, that when he was young, and a ſlave, he had a good maſter, who permitted him to get what he could for himſelf, and that being a careful

ful and saving fellow, he gathered as much as would buy his liberty, and a little house to live in, since which providence had so blessed his industry as to increase his substance to that flourishing condition in which it now appeared. This no one could gain say, the man having always been industrious; and so he escaped any further persecution.

Three or four leagues from this river *el Aque Calente*, is another river called *Rio de las Vaccas*, or the *River of Cows*, where live a company of poor country people, most of them Mestizos and Mullattos, who dwell in thatched houses, with some small flock of cattle; these spend their time also in searching for gold dust, hoping one day or other to find such quantities of it as will enrich themselves and all their posterity. Adjacent to this river is one of the pleasantest valleys in all that country, in which I lived five years, called the valley of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, lying six leagues from the city of *Guatemala*, being fifteen miles in length, and ten or twelve in breadth, and well stored with flocks of sheep: Here are many fine farms all enclosed, which produce better wheat than any grows in the kingdom of *Mexico*. From this valley the city is plentifully supplied with bread, and bisket is likewise made for all the ships that annually come into the gulph. It is called the valley of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, from two *Indian* towns so called, which stand opposite to each other on each side of the valley. Here live many rich farms, though clownish and ignorant people, who better understand turning up clods of earth, than politeness and good manners. Amongst those I must not forget to mention a particular friend of mine, one *Juan Palomeque*, whom I should have esteemed much, if I could have prevailed upon him to have lived more like a christian than a brute, more like a free man than a slave to his gold and silver. This man had in my time three hundred stately mules trained up in the gulph trade, that is to carry merchandises from the city of *Guatemala* to the sea-coast, which he divided into six companies; and he kept above a hundred Blackmoor slaves, men, women and children, who lived near *Mixco* in several thatched cottages. The house he lived in himself was but a poor thatched cottage, wherein he took more delight to dwell, than in any of the fine houses he had in *Guatemala*; for here he lived like a slave amongst slaves, but in the city he was obliged to live like a man of credit; here he eat sour milk, curds, and black, hard, mouldy bisket, and salt beef cut in slices, and dried in the sun till all the goodness was exhausted, such diet as his slaves used to carry with them for their provisions when they went to the gulph; whereas in the city modesty obliged him to keep a good table, and to eat as other merchants did, to support his credit. This miser was thought to be worth six hundred thousand ducats. And yet he endeavoured to ruin all the mulettiers who used the gulph trade: for being stocked with so many lusty mules, and so many stout slaves to drive them, he carried merchandise at so low a price by the hundred weight, that others, who kept fifty or sixty mules, could scarce live by the business. He was of a cruel disposition, and used to torture his slaves for trifling

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faults almoſt to death; eſpecially one whom he called *Macaco*, for whom I uſed to intercede, but in vain. He uſed to whip him till his back was quite raw, and then pour boiling greaſe upon it: Beſides he marked him for a ſlave with a burning hot iron upon his face, his arms, his back, his thighs, his legs, inſomuch that the poor creature would have hanged himſelf, had not I diſſuaded him from it. He was ſo carnal-minded, that he would make uſe of the wives and daughters of his ſlaves at his pleaſure. If at any time he met a female ſlave in the city, whom he fancied, and ſhe refuſed to gratify his luſt, he would immediately go to her maſter or miſtreſs, and purchaſe her, even at a price as much again as ſhe was worth, in order to ſatiate his revenge upon her. He never would marry, becauſe his ſlaves ſupplied his bed inſtead of a wife; and by this means he filled the valley with mulatto baſtards.

At the eaſt end of the valley, near to the river, ſtandeth an hermitage, called *Noſtra Senora del Carmel*, or our lady of *Carmel*, which is a pariſh church to all the farmers living in the valley; and hath about fifty farms belonging to it, upon which are three hundred Blackmoor and Mulatto ſlaves. *Mixco* conſiſts of about three hundred families, amongſt whom are ſome very rich *Indians*, who have learned of the *Spaniards* to raiſe wheat, and traffick with mules to the gulph. Beſides the mules kept by *Juan Palomeque* before mentioned, there are ten more companies of mules kept in this valley, which with thoſe of the town of *Mixco*, make up full twenty companies in all, containing above a thouſand mules, which only from this valley are employed by the rich merchants of *Guatemala*. By the continual paſſing of thoſe merchants and other travellers through the town of *Mixco* to the ſeveral ſea-ports, the place abounds in riches, though of itſelf it is noted for nothing except the curious earthern ware made there, in which the *Indians* excel in workmanſhip, painting the ſame with the greateſt ſkill and art. Theſe are alſo bought up by the merchants, and tranſported to all parts. *Pinola* is a town much likeunto *Mixco*, but more healthy and better ſituated: In it there is plenty of fleſh, fowls, fiſh, fruits, maiz, wheat and honey, and the beſt water in the country.

At the weſt end of the valley ſtand two towns larger than *Mixco* and *Pinola*, called *Petapa* and *Amatitlan*. *Petapa* is a town of at leaſt five hundred *Indian* inhabitants, who ſuffer alſo ſome *Spaniards* to dwell amongſt them, from whom thoſe *Indians* have learned to live and thrive in the world. This town is the Road from *Comayegua*, *St. Salvador*, *Nicaragua*, and *Coſta Rica*, and hath acquired great wealth by travellers conſtantly going and coming. It is eſteemed one of the pleaſanteſt towns in the province of *Guatemala*, by reaſon of a great lake of freſh-water near it, which is full of fiſh, eſpecially crabs, and a fiſh called *Mojarro*, which is like unto a mullet, though not ſo large, and eateth much like it. In this town there is a certain number of *Indians* appointed to fiſh for the city on *Wedneſdays*, *Fridays*, and *Saturdays*, and are obliged to carry ſuch a quantity of crabs and mojarras to *Guatemala*, as the Corrigidor and Regidors (Mayor and Aldermen) who are but eight, ſhall command weekly to be brought.

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In this town of *Petapa* liveth a principal family of *Indians*, who are ſaid to deſcend from the ancient kings of thoſe parts: Theſe are graced with the noble name of *Guzman*; and out of this family is choſen one to be governor of the town, with ſubordination unto the city and chancery of *Guatemala*. Don *Bernabe de Guzman* was governor in my time, and had been many years before: He governed wiſely and diſcreetly until with old age he loſt his ſight; when his ſon Don *Pedro de Guzman* was appointed governor in his ſtead, of whom the *Indians* ſtood in great awe. This governor hath many privileges allowed him by the *Spaniards*, though not a ſword or rapier: He appoints ſome of the town to wait upon him at dinner and ſupper, others to look to his horſes, ſome to fiſh for him, others to bring him wood for his firing; and yet for all this he himſelf attends upon the friar of the town, and doth nothing concerning the government thereof, or the execution of juſtice, but what the friar approveth of and alloweth to be done. This friar, as to attendance in his houſe, liveth as ſtately as a biſhop. The church treaſure is very large, there being many ſodalities of our lady and other ſaints, which are enriched with crowns, chains, and bracelets, beſides the lamps, cenſers, and ſilver candleſticks belonging unto the altars. Moſt trades and merchandiſe belonging to a well-ſettled common-wealth are here exerciſed by theſe *Indians*. Upon *Michaelmas*-Day is kept a great feaſt and fair, the town being dedicated to that ſaint, to which many merchants from *Guatemala* reſort to buy and ſell: In the afternoon are exhibited many ſports and paſtimes, but chiefly bull baiting, which is the common diverſion of the feaſt: This is carried on by *Spaniards*, *Indians* and Blackmoors both on horſeback and on foot, who being generally drunk, often venture and loſe their lives in the ſport. Beſides this general concourſe of people every year at this feaſt, there is every day at 5 o'clock in the afternoon a market held in the town.

Within a mile and a half of this town there is a rich farm of ſugar belonging to one *Sebaſtian de Savaletta*, a *Biſcayan* born, who came at firſt very poor into this country, and was a ſervant to one of his countrymen; but with care and induſtry, he got a mule or two to traffick with about the neighbourhood, till at laſt he increaſed his ſtock to a company of mules conſiſting of about ſixty, and grew ſo rich that he purchaſed a large quantity of land about *Petapa*, which he found very fit for raiſing ſugar-cane; and accordingly erected a great ſugar-work, and in a ſhort time built a ſtately houſe, to which the beſt ſort of people in *Gatemala* reſort for their recreation. This man maketh every year a prodigious quantity of ſugar, which he not only ſells about the country, but ſendeth to *Spain*. He hath at leaſt threeſcore ſlaves of his own employed in his works, is very generous in houſe-keeping, and is eſteemed to be worth five hundred thouſand ducats. About half a mile from him is another ſugar-farm belonging to the *Auguſtin* friars of *Guatemala*; but this maketh not near ſo much ſugar as the other,

The town of *Amatitlan* ſtands about three miles from *Petapa*, and though there be not ſo many *Spaniards* in it, yet there are more

more *Indian* families; the town is more commodiouſly built, and the ſtreets laid out more regular. This town alſo enjoyeth the benefit of the lake, and ſerveth the town of *Guatemala* with fiſh. It is alſo enriched by the great concourſe of people of all ranks, for the benefit of the hot baths that are in it. The inhabitants alſo find conſiderable benefit by the ſalt trade, which is made or rather gathered by the lake-ſide, and appeareth every morning like a hoar froſt upon the ground, which is taken up and purified by the *Indians*, and proveth very white and good. Beſides they get money by the companies of mules which come daily to feed upon this ſalt earth or graſs, the owners paying ſix pence per day for each mule; and this hath been found by experience to make them grow fat and hearty, and purgeth them better than any drench whatſoever. They alſo trade greatly in cotton wool, and have a finer and larger market-place than *Petapa*, with two extraordinary great elm-trees, under which the *Indians* meet every evening to buy and ſell. The church of this town is as fair and beautiful as any in the province of *Guatemala*, the riches and ſtate whereof hath cauſed the *Dominicans*, ſince the year 1635, to make this place a priory, and to build therein a noble and ſtately cloiſter, in which in my time there were eight thouſand ducats laid up in a cheſt with three locks to it, for the common expence of the cloiſter. Having thus given a full deſcription of this famous valley and the towns adjacent to it, I cannot omit one property belonging to the ſame, which is, that it affords a double wheat harveſt, the firſt being of a ſmall kind of wheat which they call *Trigo Tremeſino* (from the Latin *tres menſes*, or three months) which after three months ſowing grows ripe, and is ready to cut down. It is ſowed about the end of *Auguſt* and harveſted about the end of *November*; and tho' by the ſmallneſs of it one would imagine it yielded but little flower, yet it is as profitable as their other ſort of wheat, and maketh bread as white and good for preſent uſe, but it will not keep, ſoon growing dry and hard. The other harveſt of wheat beginneth a little after *Chriſtmas*, which is common wheat, both white and red. They never threſh in barns, but tread their grain out of the ears in the field with mules, after which they winnow it there, and then carry it into their barns or granaries: They leave the chaff and ſtraw in the field, and a little before the rainy ſeaſons come on, they ſet the whole, ſtubble and all, on fire; and theſe aſhes, they ſay, fatteneth the ground, and they eſteem this method as good as dunging. Theſe *Indians* of the valley are very induſtrious farmers: They clear a great deal of ground, ſince they have been taught by the *Spaniards* to manure and till the earth; and this valley affords as pleaſant and delightful a proſpect of agriculture as any in *Europe*.

From *Mixco* the way to *Guatemala* lieth up a hill, and bringeth you to a town of *Indians* ſomewhat larger than *Mixco*, called *San Lucas*, or *St. Luke*. Here the air is cooler than below, and this place is called the ſtorehouſe or granary for the whole city; becauſe in the valley the wheat is apt to muſt, and breed worms, but upon this high ground it will keep for ſome years, with a little turning now

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and then: and by lying here, it will give and ſwell, ſo that I have found by experience, that two hundred buſhels of wheat in one year hath meaſured two hundred and twenty. This town therefore receives from the valley moſt of the harveſt, and is full of granaries, which they call *Trojas*; and here many rich monopoliſts living in the city, hoard up the grain which they buy of the farmers until the markets riſe, or they can get an exorbitant price for it,

Having now deſcribed the road and country from *Guatemala* to the gulph; I ſhall in the next place take notice of the way to *Vera Paz*: It is ſo called, becauſe when the *Indians* here had notice that the *Spaniards* had conquered *Guatemala* and the country round about, they ſubmitted peaceably without any reſiſtance to the government of *Spain*. This country had formerly a biſhop diſtinct from *Guatemala*, but now it remains one biſhoprick with that. It is governed by an Alcalde Major, or High Juſtice, ſent from *Spain*. The capital town of this province is called *Coban*, where is a cloiſter of *Dominican* friars, and it is alſo the common reſidence of the Alcade Major. The whole country is not ſubdued by the *Spaniards*, who have often ſome encounters with the ſavage *Indians*, which lie between this place and *Jucatan*. The *Spaniards* are very earneſt in ſubduing theſe people, that they might make a road through their country to a town called *Campin*, belonging to *Jucatan*, and ſettle commerce and traffick by land with *Jucatan*, which would be of great advantage to the city of *Guatemala*, and a ſafer way to convey their merchandiſe to the *Havana* than by the gulph; for their ſhips are often met by the enemy there, and taken. But as yet they have not been able to make this conqueſt, becauſe they have found an obſtinate reſiſtance made by the natives, and that it is no eaſy matter to ſubdue them. Though a particular acquaintance of mine, whoſe name was friar *Franciſco Moran*, ventured his life amongſt theſe barbarians, travelling with two or three *Indians* on foot through that country until he came to *Campin*, where he found a few *Spaniards*, who wondered at his courage and boldneſs in coming that way. The friar came back again to *Coban*, and related, that the *Indians* hearing him ſpeak their language, and finding him loving and courteous to them, were kind to him; not daring to kill him, for fear the *Spaniards* in revenge would never reſt until they had utterly deſtroyed them. *Moran* further ſaid, that the country which theſe *Indians* inhabit, exceeded any part of the *Vera Paz* belonging to the *Spaniards*: That there was a great lake in a valley, and about it a town which contained near 12000 inhabitants, being thick ſettled all round the lake. This friar is ſince gone to *Spain*, to give an account to the court there, of the neceſſity and advantage of conquering this part of the country, and opening a communication with this province of *Jucatan*. However there is a free and open paſſage between this town of *Coban* and the gulph; and the people carry proviſions to the ſhipping there, and bring back wines and other *Spaniſh* wares.

This country is very mountainous and hilly. The chief commodities are cacoa, cotton wool, honey, ſarſaparilla, maiz, wax, and feathers

feathers of all colours, wherewith the *Indians* make curious work. Here are alſo abundance of parrots and other birds, apes, and monkeys, which breed in the mountains, and infeſt the plains in great numbers. Though there are ſeveral large towns in the *Vera paz*, yet there are not above four that are very conſiderable, namely, firſt, *Sant-Jago* or *James* town, conſiſting of five hundred families; ſecondly, *San Pedro*, or *St. Peter*, of about ſix hundred families: thirdly, *St. Juan*, or *St. John*, alſo of about ſix hundred families; and fourthly, *Santo Domingo Senaco*, or *St. Dominick* of *Senaco*, conſiſting of three hundred families. Theſe towns are very rich, having ſeveral farms of good wheat and maiz about them. The churches are alſo exceeding rich. In the town of *Sant-jago*, whilſt I was there, an *Indian* beſtowed ſix thouſand ducats upon that church, not out of piety but vain-glory; for the wretch proved to be a wizard and conjurer, or *Indian* prieſt.

In the way from *Coban* to the Gulph, after paſſing a dangerous rocky mountain, they come to a town called *Rabinal*, conſiſting of at leaſt eight hundred *Indian* familes. This town affords all the pleaſure and profit that the heart of man can wiſh for; the air inclines rather to heat than cold, but the heat is qualified by many cool and ſhady walks. It is true they raiſe no wheat, but maiz in great quantity; and they who chuſe bread of wheat, readily ſupply themſelves from the neighbouring farms; for fleſh, they have plenty of beef, mutton, kid, fowls, turkies, quails, partridges, rabbits, pheaſants, *&c.* and the river which runs by their houſes, affords them great quantities of fiſh of ſeveral ſorts. There is no *Indian* fruit which is not to be found in this town, beſides the fruits of *Spain*, as oranges and lemons, ſweet and ſour, citrons, pomgranates, grapes, figs, almonds, and dates. The *Indians* of this place are noted for their bravery, for their expertneſs in riding of horſes, and for the delight they take in feaſting, ſports and paſtimes. This town my friend, friar *John Baptiſt*, before ſpoken of, choſe to live in, to enjoy quietneſs, pleaſure and content, after he had been prior of many places, and eſpecially of *Chiapa* and *Guatemala*; and here I was entertained by him in a ſumptuous, profuſe and laviſh manner, more befitting princes than mendicant friars. From this place to *Coban*, there is only one town more any thing remarkable, and that is *St. Chriſtophers*, which is almoſt ſurrounded by a great lake, which is reported to be bottomleſs, and occaſioned by an earthquake, when the ground opened and ſwallowed up a great number of houſes, leaving this lake in the room of the faſt land.

And now I have given my readers a general deſcription of the province of *Guatemala*, and ſome of the neighbouring territories adjacent; which for ſtately towns, fine farms, and valuable plantations, gives precedence to no part of *America*. The natives are robuſt, valiant, ſenſible, and ingenious; but they are kept under and much oppreſſed by the *Spaniards*, having no arms allowed them, not ſo much as their own natural weapons, bows and arrows, much leſs muſkets, piſtols, ſwords or pikes; ſo that their courage is partly gone, and their affections to the *Spaniards* ſo far alienated, that it will ſcarce admit of a doubt, that if any power ſhould attempt to make a conqueſt of

the country, the *Spaniards* would find in these multitudes of *Indians*, a multitude of enemies, who will be naturally inclinable to exchange their old for new masters, whom they themselves say cannot be more cruel and tyrannical. A particular account of the hardships and sufferings of some of those poor creatures shall be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAP. XIII.

The state and condition of the Indians *of* Guatemala, *since the conquest of the country, with the hardships, cruelties, and oppressions they labour under from the* Spaniards; *and an account of their ceremonies, customs, feasts, and annual solemnities.*

THE condition of the *Indians* of the province of *Guatemala* is as deplorable as any upon the continent of *America*; and though it is true the comparison ought not to be made between them and the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, yet the cause and manner of their oppression was much the same, the *Spaniards* treating them with rigour and hard service lest they should increase and multiply too fast amongst them, and so grow too powerful for their task-masters. The miserable state of the *Indians* of this country is such, that though the kings of *Spain* would not consent to what was proposed by some of the adventurers, that they should be made slaves; yet they connive at the oppressions exercised by their subjects upon these poor creatures, which amount to the vilest condition of slavery. I myself have known some of these poor *Indians* come home after toiling and slaving a whole day for their masters, and instead of pay for their labour, receiving nothing but curses and blows, in so much that they have stubbornly thrown themselves down upon their beds, and refused to take any sustenance, rather chusing to pine and starve themselves to death, than to lead such miserable slavish lives. The manner of their slavery I will relate, as follows.

The *Spanish* farmers or planters, who live about the country, alledge, that as all their trading and farming is for the good of the community; there are not *Spaniards* sufficient to manure and cultivate their lands; and they are not able to buy slaves or blackmoors for that purpose; therefore it is necessary they should be supplied with *Indians* to work for them for reasonable wages. Hereupon, by order of the government of *Guatemala*, a partition of *Indian* labourers is made every Monday morning, or Sunday in the afternoon, to the *Spaniards*, according to the farms they occupy, their several employments, callings, and trading. Therefore, for every district an officer is appointed, who is a *Spaniard*, and called *Juez Repartidor*, who, according to a list given in, is to allot a proportionable number of labourers by the week, to every farm, house, or person. These officers appoint a place of meeting every Sunday or Monday, to which the *Spaniards* repair: And every *Indian* town in the province is obliged to bring to this meeting as many labourers as the court of *Guatemala* hath, by order, appointed to be taken out of such town, who are conducted to the general meeting by an *Indian* officer.

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When they are all met together, the *Juez Repartidor* having a list of the names of every *Spaniard* present, and how many labourers he wants for the week, assigns them over accordingly; some three, some four, others ten, and so on to twenty a man, according to their business or employment; for which this officer receives from the employer half a rial, (about three pence sterling) for every *Indian* labourer so assigned over, which amounts yearly to a great sum of money, for two, three, or four hundred a week. If a *Spaniard* complaineth that any of these hirelings hath run away from him before his week was expired, he is brought to the publick whipping-post in the market-place of *Guatemala*, and there receives a destin'd number of lashes upon his bare back: But if the poor *Indian* complains of his being abused or cheated of his wages, which are but five rials a week, (about half a crown sterling) he seldom or never gets any recompence; though the ordinance of the government runs in favour of the *Indians* as well as the *Spaniards*. It would soften a heart of flint to behold how these poor christian *Indians* are used and abused by their cruel masters; they are not permitted to go home at night to their wives, tho' some of them are not a mile distant, their lustful masters often supplying their places in their absence: They make nothing of breaking their heads upon every trifling occasion; they whip them unmercifully; and often cheat them of half their wages, under pretence of neglecting their work; and if they have not full employ for them the whole week, they will sell them to others at an advanced price, who will be sure to have their pennyworths out of them. Thus do these haughty and lazy *Spaniards* live in luxury by the slavery and labour of these poor *Indians*, who are continually crying to heaven for justice and liberty; and would often mutiny, did not the priests and friars by their exhortations prevent it; who, for their own private views, craftily persuade these miserable wretches, that they must for Christ's sake, suffer all this, and more, with patience, to gain everlasting rest for their souls. Those *Indians* who are merchants and traders, or have farms of their own, are independent and free; and live well, yet all of them in subjection to the crown of *Spain*; many of whom are governors of *Indian* towns, and officers of justice therein.

The apparel of these better sort of *Indians*, is a shirt which reaches down half the thigh, a pair of drawers laced round the bottom, or wrought with silk or crewel, a linnen doublet, over which they throw a mantle laced or embroider'd; many of them wear shoes and stockings, and bands about their Necks. The Women wear no shifts, but cover their bodies with a sort of surplice, which they call *Guaipil*, hanging loose from their shoulders downwards a little below the waste, with open short sleeves which cover about half the arm; this *Guaipil* is curiously work'd, especially in the bosom, with cotton or feathers; most of them go barefoot, but the richer sort wear shoes, with broad ribbons for shoe-strings; instead of a petticoat they wear about their waste a mantle of various colours, and tied with ribbons: When they go abroad, they cover their heads with a veil of linnen, which hangs down near the ground, and is the most costly of all their attire, being made of the finest linnens, from *Holland*, *Spain*, or *China*, with a lace round the borders:

ders: They alſo wear bracelets about their wriſts and necks. When they are at home at work, they generally throw off their ſurplice or *Guaipil*, thereby expoſing their naked bodies to their waſte. Their houſes are poor thatch'd cottages, without any upper rooms, and commonly only two rooms below, in one of which they cook, with a fire-place in the middle, without any chimney to convey off the ſmoke, which goes out at the doors; in the other are four or five beds, according to the number of the family. The poorer people have but one room, where they cook, eat, and ſleep.

They are divided into tribes amongſt themſelves; and each tribe hath a head or chief, to whom all who belong to that tribe apply in all difficult matters, who is obliged to aſſiſt, counſel, and appear for the reſt of his tribe before the officers of juſtice, when any wrong is done unto any of them. When they are about to marry, the father of the young man applieth to the head of his tribe, who, if the maid liveth in another tribe, meeteth with the chief of that tribe, and they confer together about it: Theſe conferences generally take up about a quarter of a year, during which time the parents of the youth make many preſents to the maid, and are at the expence of all the feaſting upon the occaſion: After which the two chiefs and the kindred on both ſides meet together, and are many days in conference; when this is done, and the two chiefs approve of the match, if the young woman refuſes to marry, her parents are obliged to pay all the expences which have accrued during the ſuit, with the value of all the preſents given to her. They give no portions with their daughters, and when they die, their goods and lands are equally divided amongſt their ſons.

As to eating, beſides their common meals, they have many diſhes, which they call dainty. When they kill a deer, they let it lie in a hole covered with leaves for about a week, until it ſtinks, and is full of maggots, then they bring it home, and cut it into joints, and parboil it with a herb not unlike our tanſy: This they ſay ſweetens it again, and makes the fleſh eat tender; after which they ſmoak it, and then boil it again, with Indian pepper, making a ſoup thereof; of which I have eaten, and found it of a good flavour, and the fleſh tender and reliſhing; but the thoughts of the maggots with which it had abounded, generally took away my ſtomach. Another diſh they make of a creature full of prickles, exactly like the *Engliſh* hedge-hog; which feeds upon emmets and their eggs, as alſo upon herbs and roots: This meat they are very fond of, the fleſh being as white and ſweet as a rabbit, and very fat; of this I have alſo eaten, and muſt allow it a dainty diſh. Not only the *Indians*, but the beſt of the *Spaniards* feed greedly upon this meat. They alſo eat another Creature, called *Iguana*, of which ſome are found in the water, and ſome upon land; they are longer than a rabbit, and much like a ſcorpion, ſome with green, others with black ſcales upon their backs. The land *Iguana* runs very faſt, and will climb trees, breeding in the roots thereof or in ſtone walls; they are really very frightful to look at, and yet when they are dreſſed and ſtewed in broth, they make a moſt

delicate

delicate ſoup; their fleſh being as white as a chicken: and very tender; but I found by experience that it was dangerous eating thereof if the meat was not thoroughly boiled; for it had almoſt coſt me my life, by eating plentifully thereof when it was not ſtewed enough. Theſe *Indians* are ſuch lovers of liquor, that if they can get nothing elſe, they will drink poor chocolate, without ſugar or any thing to ſweeten it until they are ready to burſt, but if they find any ſtrong liquor, which will make them mad drunk, they will not leave off whilſt there is a drop left, or a penny remains in their pockets to purchaſe it. So fond are they of intoxication, that I durſt not relate the filthy compoſitions they uſe, to make their drink ſtrong, forfear of having my credit arraigned, if I could not aſſure the reader of the truth thereof, upon my own view and a miſchievous experience. They put a certain quantity of water into a jar, with ſome molaſſes or ſugar-cane juice, and honey ſufficient to ſweeten it; then they fill up the jar with the roots and leaves of tobacco and other herbs that grow there, which they know to be ſtrong in operation, and in ſome places I have known them to put in a live toad; then they cloſe up the jar for a month, until the herbs be thoroughly ſteeped; and the toad conſumed; when they think the drink ſufficiently ſtrengthen'd, they then open it, and calling their friends together, drink thereof until they grow mad or raving drunk; but they generally make this frolick by night, for fear the prieſts ſhould diſcover it, who would break their jars, and thereby prevent the bad effects of the liquor, which very often deſtroys many of them, eſpecially when they make uſe of the toad. This drink they call *Chicha*. Whilſt I was a preacher in *Mixco*, I had information of a great *Chichan* frolick that was to be held at an *Indian*'s houſe. I took the officers of juſtice with me, and went to the place, and upon ſearch, found four jars of *Chicha* not yet open'd, which I order'd to be taken out of the houſe, and broke in the ſtreet before his door, the loathſome ſtench whereof cauſed me to vomit immediately, and I was ſick for a week afterwards.

Having given an account of the *Indians* apparel, eating, and drinking, I ſhall next ſay ſomething of their form of civil government amongſt them, which they have chiefly borrowed from the *Spaniards*. In all their towns there are an *Alcalde*, that is, a mayor, *Regidores*, or aldermen, and *Alguaziles*, conſtables: And ſome large towns are priviledged with an *Indian* governor, who is above the mayor, as to ſuperiority. Theſe officers are annually elected, and are choſen by the *Indians* themſelves every New-years-day; after which a liſt of the officers aforeſaid is carried to the governor of the province, who confirms the election. But the *Indian* governor being ſome chief perſon amongſt them, is generally continued for many years, except complaints be exhibited againſt him for miſdemeanours. Being thus ſettled in a civil way of government, they may execute juſtice in their own towns againſt ſuch *Indians* as do notoriouſly and ſcandalouſly offend: They may impriſon, fine, whip, and baniſh; but they have no cognizance of any capital offences; thoſe are remitted to the *Spaniſh* governor. If a *Spaniard* paſſing through their town, or living in it, breaks the peace, or misbehaves, they may arreſt him, and ſend him to the next *Spaniſh* juſtice, with the information againſt him;

but

but punish him themselves they must not, or detain him in custody above one night. But this small authority they dare not execute upon the *Spaniards*, so much do they stand in awe of them, who will get drunk, curse, swear, and draw their swords in their towns, making the inhabitants tremble for fear, and yet none dare to apprehend them.

The *Indians* are very ingenious, and good workmen at the several trades they profess, as smiths, carpenters, masons, shoemakers, taylors, and the like. They are very trusty and honest, and are scarce ever known to commit any robbery. The *Spaniards* dare trust themselves in the wilderness amongst them all night, though they have bags of gold with them. They are professed keepers of secrets, and will not reveal any thing to the prejudice of another for any consideration, unless it be in matters criminal. But above all, to their priests they are very respectful; to whom they have liberty of appealing from the sentences of their justices, and the priest either confirms or sets aside the judgment as he thinks proper. They are in their expressions full of circumlocutions, making use of parables and similes to illustrate their intentions. I have spent many an hour in hearing them make their speeches unto me with such an elegancy, as really delighted me; and I could learn more of their language from these speeches, than by any endeavours or study of my own.

As to their Religion, they are outwardly the same with the Spaniards; but many of them inwardly are still inclinable to worship idols; are very superstitious, observing the meeting of beasts in cross-ways, the flight of birds, and their appearing and singing near their houses at particular times, *&c.* They are taught the religion and doctrine of the church of *Rome*, that Christ's body is truly and really present in the sacrament; yet if the wisest *Indian* be asked if he believeth this, his answer will be, *Perhaps it may be so.* They have been taught, that when they come to confession, they must offer something to the priests, and that by their gifts and alms their sins are to be forgiven. Thus in religion they are superstitiously led on, and blinded in the observance of what they have been taught, more for the good and profit of their priests than for the good of their souls, not perceiving that their religion is a policy to enrich their teachers.

CHAP. XIV.

The author's departure out of Guatemala, *to learn the* Poconchi *language, and to live amongst the* Indians; *and of some particular passages and accidents whilst he lived there.*

HAVING read in the university of *Guatemala*, the whole course of arts for three years, and having begun to read divinity, the more I studied and grew in knowledge, and the more I controverted, by way of argument, the points of religion, the more I found the spirit of truth enlightening me, and the more I discovered the errors, falsities, and superstitions of the church of *Rome*. My conscience I found perplexed and wavering: I was desirous of full satisfaction, but found it could not

ot be had there: To profeſs and continue in any opinion contrary to he doctrine of that church, I knew would bring me to the Inquiſition, hat rack of tender conſciences, and from thence to burning alive, if I id not renounce thoſe true principles of religion with which I found nyſelf now inſpired. The points of tranſubſtantiation, of purgatory, of the Pope's power and authority, of the merit of man's works, of his ree will to chuſe all ſoul-ſaving ways, the ſacrifice of the maſs, the allowing the ſacrifice of the Lord's ſupper to the lay people, the prieſt's ower to abſolve from ſin, the worſhipping of ſaints, and the virgin *Mary*, with a higher degree of worſhip than that of the ſaints; the trange falſities and blaſphemies, which they call miracles, recorded in he legend and lives of their ſaints, the infallibility of the Pope and coun- il, in defining for truth and point of faith, what in itſelf is falſe and erroneous; theſe, with many more of *Rome*'s policies, together with the ewd lives of the prieſts, friars, nuns, and thoſe in authority, did very much trouble and perplex my conſcience, and made me earneſtly deſirous of returning to my native country, *England*, where I knew thoſe at pre- ſent uncertain ideas I had entertained of the true faith, would be very much enlighten'd; becauſe I had heard that church held many tenets con- trary to the church of *Rome*; but what they were, I was ignorant of, be- ing an intire ſtranger to the proteſtant religion, having been ſent over to the college of *Engliſh* jeſuits at St. *Omer*'s very young; and having ne- ver been permitted ſince to ſee the land of my nativity. Wherefore I earneſtly addreſs'd myſelf to the provincial and to the preſident of *Gua- temala*, for leave to return home, but neither of them would conſent to it, telling me there was a ſtrict order from the king and council, that no prieſt ſent by his majeſty to any part of the *Indies*, ſhould return to Spain, until ten years were expired. Hereupon, finding myſelf a priſoner, and without hopes for the preſent of ſeeing *England* for many years, I reſol- ved to ſtay no longer in *Guatemala*, but to go and learn ſome *Indian* language, and to preach to them in their towns, where perhaps I might get more money towards carrying me home, than I could by ſtaying in the cloiſter of *Guatemala*. Nevertheleſs, I thought proper to write to friar *Pablo de Londres*, a friend of mine in Spain, and an *Engliſhman*, to obtain for me a licence from court and from the general of the order at *Rome*, to return to my own country.

At this time there was in *Guatemala*, friar *Franciſco de Moran*, the prior of *Coban*, in the province of *Vera Paz*. He came to inform the preſident and chancery, that he ſhould have ſome Spaniards to aſſiſt him to find out a way from that country to *Jucatan*, and to ſuppreſs ſuch barbarous heathens as ſtopt his paſſage, and invaded the chriſtian Indians; upon which the preſident ordered ſixty Spaniſh ſoldiers to attend him. This *Moran* being my particular friend, (having been brought up in Spain, in the cloiſter of *San Pablo de Valladolid*, where I was firſt entered a friar) was very deſirous of my company along with him, as an aſſiſtant in converting to chriſtianity theſe heathens and idolators. It was not difficult to perſuade me to ſuch an undertaking, it being my chief delight to endeavour to conduct all ſtray ſheep into Chriſt's fold, and therefore I reſolved to quit all the honour and

benefit I enjoy'd in the univerſity of *Guatemala*, and once more try my fortune in the wide world. The preſident was highly pleaſed to find ſo much courage in me, and having made me ſome preſents, and given me ſome money in my purſe, he ſent me with *Moran* to *Vera Paz*, with the ſixty ſoldiers who were ordered to aid and aſſiſt us.

When we came to *Coban*, we refreſhed ourſelves well, and then prepared for a dangerous enterpriſe. From *Colan* we marched to two great towns of chriſtians, called *St. Peter* and *St. John*, where we had a hundred *Indians* for our further aſſiſtance. From theſe towns we travelled two days journey ſafe enough upon mules and among chriſtians, meeting with many ſmall towns; but afterwards we drew near the heathen frontiers, and were obliged to quit our mules and truſt to our feet, for here was no open way: We wandered about the mountains for two days, without any hopes of finding the heathens. The third day we came to a low valley, in the midſt whereof ran a ſhallow river: Here we found ſome *Milpa*'s and plantations of Indian corn. Theſe were teſtimonies to us of ſome inhabitants not far off. We therefore put ourſelves in order, for fear of a ſurpriſe, and travelled on; when we preſently met with half a dozen poor cottages, covered with boughs and plantain leaves, in which we found three *Indian* women, two men, and five young children, all naked. Here we refreſhed ourſelves, and gave the ſavages ſome of our proviſions, which at firſt they refuſed to eat, howling and crying, till *Moran* pacified them, whoſe language he partly underſtood. We cloathed them, and took them along with us, in hopes they would aſſiſt us in our diſcoveries: But they were very ſullen, and we could get nothing out of them that day. Towards evening we diſcovered a dozen more little huts, with about twenty men, women, and children in them, from whom we took ſome bows and arrows, and found there ſtore of plantains, ſome fiſh, and dried veniſon, with which we refreſhed ourſelves. They told us there was a great town about two days journey diſtant, which put us upon our guard for that night. Here myſelf and ſome of the company began to be ſick and weary; ſo that the next day I was not able to go any further, and therefore it was agreed to tarry for a day, and to ſend out a party of Spaniards and Indians to make diſcoveries, who returning, reported, that they had found more cottages and plantations, but that the people were fled; and therefore they cautioned us to be watchful; for the flight of the Indians was a certain ſign, that our approach was noiſed about the country. The next day we propoſed to move forwards to the plantations which our ſcouts had diſcovered, being (as we were informed) more open, and therefore more convenient for diſcovering any danger. All theſe plantations lay along the river, and it was exceeding hot; which occaſioned the flux, and fever amongſt us. With much fatigue and faintneſs I got that day to the end of our journey, and began ſeverely to repent of my undertaking; being much in fear of the ſavages, who were all alarmed through the country. The night watch was ſet, and myſelf and the ſick Spaniards went to reſt, ſome upon the ground and ſome in hamocks. About midnight the watch alarmed us with the approach

of

of the enemy, who came furiouſly on, and by reconnoitring, were ſuppoſed to be about a thouſand. Our drums began to beat, and our people to fire amongſt them; upon which the ſavages made dreadful ſhouts and horrid yells. *Moran* came to me, and deſired me to fear nothing but to lie ſtill, for I could do them no ſervice, and was out of danger. The ſkirmiſh laſted about an hour, when the enemy began to fly; we took ten priſoners, and in the morning found thirteen dead. We had only five wounded, one whereof died the next day.

In the morning our ſoldiers began to mutiny and to talk of returning back, fearing a more violent onſet that day, or the following night; becauſe ſome of the priſoners told them plainly, that if we did not retreat, we ſhould certainly be attacked by ſix or ſeven thouſand, and further told us, they well knew the *Spaniards* were maſters of all the country except that little ſpot of theirs, which they deſired to enjoy peaceably and quietly; that if we intended only to ſee the country, and to paſs through it in friendſhip, they would not moleſt us; but if we came in a hoſtile manner, to conquer them, and bring them into ſlavery, as we had done their neighbours, they were reſolved to die rather than ſurrender and ſubmit. Our people were divided in their opinion; *Moran* and ſome of them were for travelling peaceably through the country to *Jucatan*; others were for fighting; and a third for returning back; but that day nothing was done; for we could not ſtir by reaſon of the ſick and wounded: So that we continued in the ſame ſtation that night; and about the ſame hour a ſecond attack was made upon us; but the enemy finding us prepared to receive them, ſoon fled. In the morning we reſolved to return back; and *Moran* ſent the *Indians* word, that if they would permit him to go peaceably through their country to diſcover ſome land in *Jucatan*, he would come in a few months with only half a dozen *Indians* with him; and that he knew, if they proved treacherous to him, the *Spaniards* would revenge it, and not leave one of them alive. They ſent him anſwer, that himſelf, and any few *Indians* he would bring with him, ſhould be welcome to paſs through their country, and ſhould be well entertained: All which *Moran* and they mutually performed the year following. We returned back the ſame way we came, carrying with us ſome of theſe children we had taken priſoners, as a preſent to the preſident of *Guatemala*, who were chriſtened, and brought up in the cloiſter there.

I remained after this for a while in *Coban*, and in the towns thereabouts, until ſuch time as the ſhips came to the gulph, whither I went with *Moran* to buy wines, oils, cloaths, and ſuch things as the cloiſter wanted for the preſent. At which time there being a frigate ready to ſail for *Truxillo*, and *Moran* having ſome buſineſs there, I embarked along with him. We did not ſtay above a week in that port, which is but a very weak one, but ſet out by land for *Guatemala*, being near a hundred leagues, paſſing through the country of *Camayagua*, commonly called *Honduras*: This is a woody mountainous country, very bad and inconvenient for travelling; and I found it the pooreſt country in *America*; but we wanted neither for guides nor good

living; for the poor *Indians* thought neither their perſonal attendance nor any thing they enjoyed too good for us; and therefore we paſſed comfortably enough through this barren country.

When we came to *Guatemala*, we were joyfully received by the preſident and friars; and the inhabitants eſteemed us true apoſtles, becauſe we had ventured our lives in diſcovering theſe heathens, opening a way for their converſion, and ſending thoſe poor ignorant children to the cloiſter, to be inſtructed in the chriſtian religion. *Moran* was not a little proud of the preſent and favour he received from the preſident, and the popular applauſe of the citizens. He would have perſuaded me to have ventured with him again upon his ſecond expedition amongſt theſe ſavages with only a few *Indian* guides: But I had ſeveral reaſons to decline the propoſal, as the uncertain ſtate of my health, my incapacity of travelling ſo far on foot, the danger I apprehended from the barbarians in revenge for carrying away their children, and the ſmall hopes I had of making money there ſufficient to carry me to my native country, which was a conſideration paramount to all others, becauſe there I expected to ſatisfy my conſcience as to the doubts and ſcruples with which I was continually perplexed, relating to the true principles of the chriſtian religion. Therefore thought I might better employ my time in learning ſome *Indian* languages about *Guatemala*, where I ſhould be nearer to my friends; and the *Indians*, being generally rich, were always generous to their prieſts and teachers. I had ſo much intereſt with the provincial, that I knew I could ſettle any where about *Guatemala*, from whence I might facilitate my return to *England*, and keep an open correſpondence with my friends in *Spain*. I diſcovered my ſentiments to the provincial, (who was then at *Guatemala*) and he preſently and willingly condeſcended to my requeſt, adviſing me to learn the *Poconchi* language, of which I had already obtained ſome ſmall knowledge whilſt I ſojourned in the province of *Vera Paz*, and which is moſt uſed in the provinces of *Guatemala*, *Vera Paz*, and *San Salvador*. He ſaid he would recommend me to a particular friend of his in the town of *Potapa*, named friar *Peter Molina*, who was very old, and wanted the company and aſſiſtance of ſome young perſon to eaſe him in the charge of ſo large a town, and ſo many travellers paſſing through it. The provincial, if he had known my own wiſhes, could not have gratified them in a more agreeable manner; and therefore on *Midſummer-Day*, I left *Guatemala*, and went to *Petapa*, diſtant ſix leagues, and there ſettled myſelf to learn the *Indian* language. Old *Molina* conſidering himſelf in years, and to oblige the provincial, was not unwilling to accept my company, and to impart to me what he had obtained by many years experience of the *Poconchi* dialect. After the firſt ſix weeks *Molina* wrote for me in that tongue a ſhort exhortation, which he expounded to me, directing me to learn it without book, and I delivered it publickly upon the feaſt of St. *James*. After this he gave me another exhortation in *Spaniſh*, which I was to tranſlate into *Indian*, and he corrected it; and I afterwards delivered that in publick. After which in a ſhort time, I ventured to preach in publick to the *Indians*,

Indians, and grew such a proficient, that I could talk with them in common conversation. *Molina* was not a little proud at this; and wrote to the provincial, that by his assistance, I was grown so perfect in the *Poconchi* language, that I was now capable of taking a charge of *Indians* upon me, and to preach alone; desiring him to bestow upon me some vicarage and benefice, where I might by constant preaching, complete what I had so successfully begun. My friend the provincial wanted no spur to shew his kindness and respect for me, and therefore forthwith sent orders for me to repair to the two towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, and to take upon me the charge and care of the *Indians* in those two places; and to give an account quarterly of what I received thence to the cloister of *Guatemala*, unto which all that valley did belong. All the *Indian* towns, and the friars who live in them, are subordinate to some cloister; and the friars are obliged to account to that cloister for all the money they receive, after their own and their servants expences are defraied. Notwithstanding this, the heads of the cloisters generally settle it upon an annual stipend, and the remainder the priests put into their pockets; which is sufficient to enable them to traffick, live luxuriously, game, and revel publickly without controul; for if they only take care to pay their yearly rates, their superiors trouble themselves about nothing else. With this subordination to the prior and cloister of *Guatemala*, I was sent to preach to the *Indians* of *Mixco* and *Pinola*; from whence an old friar, almost fourscore years of age, was removed to his cloister of rest, as not being able any longer to perform the duty of his office in two towns distant three leagues from each other.

My first care was to certify myself from the books of receipts and accompts in the cloister of *Guatemala*, how my old predecessor had been annually rated for some years past, that I might regulate myself and my expences in such a manner, as to be able to live with credit, and yet to gain the favour and esteem of the cloister, by making them greater yearly payments than any of my predecessors had hitherto done. I found that four hundred crowns were the utmost that ever my old predecessor had paid in. I then carefully made a computation of the annual revenues which these two towns brought into the church, and what by offerings, confessions, masses, sacraments, and many other aids, they amounted to at least two thousand crowns, or four five hundred pounds sterling. Whereupon I took an opportunity in a private conference with the prior of *Guatemala*, to ask him what the cloister expected I should pay them yearly during my officiating in those two towns: He told me if I took care to uphold the annual revenue, he would thank me, and the cloister would expect no more; for the remainder I might apply to my own use. I answered, my predecessor had paid four hundred crowns a year, and I was content to forfeit my benefice, if I did not pay five hundred. The prior greatly rejoiced, and told me he would see me well provided with wine and cloathing; for the cloisters find all their missionaries in wine and cloathing.

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I lived five years in the two towns of *Mixco* and *Pinola*, and had the good fortune to make more money there in that time than any prieſt had done before me. For in my firſt year's reſidence it pleaſed heaven to ſend one of the plagues of *Egypt* amongſt them, ſuch ſwarms of locuſts as had never been ſeen there before, inſomuch that they even darkened the beams of the ſun. Great were the alarms and cries of the people upon this occaſion, that they ſhould be ruined, and the produce and fruits of the earth all deſtroyed. The magiſtrates made the *Indians* go out into the fields that were ſowed and planted, with their trumpets, drums, and other inſtruments; and it was ſurprizing to behold the effects which the noiſe of theſe inſtruments, and the ſhouts of the *Indians* had upon the creatures, inſomuch that they quitted the fields and took to the woods and mountains, and hung ſo thick upon the boughs of the trees, that many limbs broke down with their weight. This plague proved of great advantage to me; for proceſſions were made and maſſes ſung for averting it; and in *Mixco* moſt of the idols were carried in proceſſion to the fields, eſpecially thoſe of our lady and St. *Nicholas Tolentine*, which theſe poor ignorant people are taught to believe will defend them from ſickneſs, plagues, contagions, or any other great and imminent dangers. There was ſcarce a *Spaniſh* huſbandman in the valley, who upon this occaſion came not to the town of *Mixco* with offerings to theſe ſaints, and who made not a vow to have a maſs ſung to St. *Nicholas*. And when the locuſts had left the country, being drove by a ſtrong land wind into the South Sea, the people cried out to our lady and St. *Nicholas*, *Milagro!* a miracle! aſcribing more praiſe to theſe ſaints than to God; and by theſe proceſſions and maſſes I got many hundred crowns. The next year a contagious diſtemper, or plague, ran through the country: It began with a kind of fever in the bowels, then their tongue and mouths rotted, and they turned as black as a coal. This contagion was ſo infectious, that it generally ſeized the whole houſe, and upon thoſe who came to viſit them; and thoſe who died, were generally carried off in three or four days. Very few *Spaniards* were infeſted by it: It was reported to have begun at *Mexico*, and to have ſpread from town to town until it came to *Guatemala*, and went forwards through the country. I viſited many who died of this diſtemper, and through providence eſcaped the infection, uſing no other antidote againſt it, but ſmelling a handkerchief dipt in vinegar. I received two crowns for every one that died, for a maſs for their ſouls out of purgatory. As ſoon as the ſickneſs ceaſed, the magiſtrates cauſed the people to be numbered, and to make up the loſs they had ſuſtained by the contagion, they obliged all the young people of the two towns, of twelve years of age and upwards, to marry; upon which occaſion I married above fourſcore couple, and was paid two crowns for each marriage. Though my profit here was very great, yet, bleſſed be God, it did not blind my eyes ſo much, but I could plainly perceive the policy of the church of *Rome*, in fleecing her bigots to pamper the prieſts and enrich the clergy. The judgments of heaven did not ceaſe here; for after this ſickneſs, every day about noon, for a month together;

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in the year 1632. there fell such violent showers of rain, accompanied with such dreadful thunder and lightning, as threatned destruction to the whole country, which swept away great quantities of corn and many cottages of the poor *Indians*. Several people were killed by the lightning about the country: A *Franciscan* Friar was struck dead as he was sleeping upon his bed in the cloister of *Guacho*. And I myself was wonderfully preserved by the hand of providence; for being upon a Saturday night at prayers in my chamber, I was struck down by the lightning, and lay as dead for a considerable time. When I came to myself, I found several *Indians* round about me, who were come to see whether my house which joined to the church, was not on fire; the same flash killed two calves just under my window: The chapel of our lady in the valley of *Pixco* was set on fire by lightning and burnt to the ground, as were also houses there. This stormy season also brought me much profit by masses and processions.

The summer following there happened extraordinary earthquakes; by one of which the whole city of *Truxillo* in the kingdom of *Peru* was destroyed, and almost all the people were lost, the earth opening and swallowing most of them up alive. In *Mixco* some shocks were so violent as to make the bells ring in the steeple. Small shakings of the earth happened so frequent, that I did not use to mind them, and if in bed would not rise for them; but this year I was greatly terrified more especially one morning being in my chamber at study, I was surprised by a sudden and most violent shock, and fearing the house would fall upon my head before I could get down the stairs, I ran to the window, which was in a very thick wall and arched over, the *Spaniards* holding this the safest place if the house should fall, I expected nothing but death, but as soon as I got under the arch, the earthquake ceased, though my heart did not cease to quake for fear. Whilst I was considering whether I should run into the yard, or stay where I was, a second shock came on more severe than the first: I would have leaped out of the window, but it was so high from the ground, that I ran a great hazard of breaking my limbs, if I escaped with life. Whilst my thoughts were thus confused, I was surprised with a third motion as violent as the first; and now I had fixed my foot in the window ready to leap out, if the fourth shock had come on; but thanks to heaven, I felt no more, and so was preserved.

Thus by the hand of providence my life was twice spared in *Mixco*: And in the city of *Pinola* I was very near losing my leg by a singular accident. There is in this country a small insect, called by the *Spaniards*, *Migua*, less than the smallest flea, and scarce discernable by the naked eye; they are common all over the *Indies*, yet in some places more plentiful than others. These little vermine get into the feet and legs, and there cause a small tumour by the party's scratching, here it lays its nits, which increase the tumour larger and larger, and cause such an immoderate itching, that by the person's scratching, it festers to that degree as to endanger the leg, if not the life of the patient.

patient. The *Spaniards* report, that many of Sir *Francis Drake's* ſoldiers loſt their lives by theſe little creatures, when they landed at *Nombre de dios*, and marched towards *Panama*; for feeling their feet to itch, and not knowing the cauſe thereof, they ſcratched ſo immoderately, that their whole body got inflamed, and they died. Some think it beſt to take them out when they cauſe the firſt itching, and are getting into the fleſh, but this is difficult to do, becauſe they are ſo ſmall you cannot well perceive them, and may be apt to break them, and the ſmalleſt part will do as much miſchief as the whole. The *Spaniards* commonly let them alone until they have bred a bag of nits, which ſheweth itſelf like a bliſter through the ſkin; and then with a pin they dig round about the bliſter, and with the point of the pin take out the whole bag, which if they can do without breaking, no further diſorder enſues. When I firſt came to *Pinola*, a *Migua* got into my foot, and I not knowing the nature of the vermin, continued ſcratching, until my foot feſtered and ſwelled as if I had been bit by a rattle-ſnake, and I was obliged to lie two months in a ſurgeon's hands, who with much difficulty ſaved my leg.

I have great reaſon to adore the providence of God for many other ſignal deliverances; for I underwent many hazards both from men and devils, being in a ſtrange country, diſtant from all my friends, and propagating the religion of chriſt amongſt infidels, idolaters, and heathens. As I had undertaken the care of the *Indians*, as to the welfare of their ſouls, I thought it alſo my duty to take ſome little care of their bodies alſo, and to endeavour as far as lay in my power to prevent their being abuſed by the cruel *Spaniards*; and this act of chriſtianity had like to have coſt me my life, upon the following occaſion. A poor *Indian* of *Pinola* worked for a *Spaniard* named *Franciſco de Montenegro*, who lived about a mile and half from the town; this *Spaniard* not paying the poor fellow his wages, he threatned to complain to me; whereupon the *Spaniard* beat him to that degree that his life was in danger; of this barbarity I complained to the preſident of *Guatemala*, who ſent for *Montenegro* to the city, impriſoned him until the *Indian* was recovered, and then ſent him back, after having made him pay a ſmart fine. I took publick notice of this affair from my pulpit upon the Sabbath day, adviſing all the *Indians* who ſhould be abuſed by the mercileſs *Spaniards* to apply to me, and I would ſee that juſtice ſhould be done them. This nettled *Montenegro* to the heart, who publickly vow'd revenge upon me. This was told me by ſome friends, but I diſregarded it, looking upon it only as the vain boaſting of a *Spaniard*, till one day ſome of my ſervants came to my chamber-door, and deſired me to take care of myſelf; for *Montenegro* was in my yard with a naked ſword, intending to kill me; I immediately ſent privately for the officers of the town to my aſſiſtance; but the *Spaniard* perceiving himſelf diſcovered made off. Upon this, for my future ſafety, I procured one *Miguel Dalva*, a black-moor, and a ſtout luſty fellow, to live with me as a protector againſt this blood-thirſty *Spaniard*. The Sunday following being to ride to *Mixco* to preach, I took *Dalva* and half a dozen *Indians* along with

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me as a guard; and going through a ſmall thicket in the midſt of the valley, there we found *Montenegro* armed and waiting for me; but ſeeing me ſo well guarded he made no attempt upon my perſon, only gave me opprobrious language, telling me he hoped to find me alone ſome time or other. I now thought delays were dangerous, and therefore made a ſecond complaint to the preſident of his behaviour; who impriſoned him for a month; and afterwards baniſhed him thirty leagues from the valley, not to return upon pain of death; and thus I providentially eſcaped his fury.

There having been various reports about the idolatry of theſe *Indians* before the chriſtians came amongſt them; and the *Spaniards* poſitively affirm, that they worſhiped the devil, and that he uſed to appear amongſt them at their religious rites and ceremonies. The truth of this I ſhall not take upon me to affirm: But what hath appeared to me from my own knowledge, and what my own eyes have ſeen, I may boldly affirm for a truth. What power or influence the devil might be allowed over theſe poor ignorant creatures before the glorious light of the goſpel ſhone upon them, is not for me to determine: But I am fully ſatisfied, that whilſt I was amongſt them, many of them, both men and women, who outwardly profeſſed to be ſincere and devout chriſtians, privately practiſed their old black art of powwawing, that is, ſorcery, conjuration, and witchcraft, as will appear by the following few relations, all well-known to me, as happening in my time. And I hope my character, as a divine, a miſſionary, and a converter of ſouls to the truth, will ſo far juſtify me, as to induce my readers to believe, that I would not impoſe upon the world falſhood for truth, againſt the dictates of my conſcience, and the all-ſeeing eye of heaven.

There lived in *Pinola* an old woman named *Martho de Carillo*, who had formerly been accuſed before the *Spaniſh* juſtices of witchcraft; but there being no poſitive evidence againſt her, ſhe was acquitted. Whilſt I was there, two or three perſons died after a ſtrange manner: They accuſed *Carillo* with bewitching them, declaring that they ſaw this woman about their beds, affrighting and threatning them with a frowning countenance. They poſitively affirming this to me, whilſt at confeſſion, I ſent word to Don *Juan de Guzman*, the chief magiſtrate of the town, that I thought an enquiry ought to be made into the affair; and he procured from the biſhop a commiſſion for myſelf and another officer of the inquiſition, to make a diligent and private enquiry into her behaviour, and way of life: Accordingly I convened before me, the principal inhabitants and perſons of the greateſt credit in the town, who all accuſed her of deviliſh practices; and all of them poſitively affirmed, that before the accuſation of witchcraft was alledged againſt her, a duck uſed to follow her wherever ſhe went about the town; that it would alſo follow her to church, but would wait at the church door until ſhe came out again, and then go home with her; that ſeveral of the inhabitants had ſet their dogs at the duck, but none of them would ever come near it, but ſneak away as if they were terrified; and this they thought to be her familiar

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ſpirit; for it never appeared after her firſt accuſation before the *Spaniſh* juſtices; and that as to her worldly eſtate, ſhe was eſteemed one of the pooreſt women in the town, and yet ſhe always had plenty of money, and no one knew how ſhe came by it. Having received this private information, and it being the time of *Lent*, when the whole town came to confeſſion, this woman came amongſt the reſt to confeſs her ſins. I examined her very cloſe touching the private opinion and accuſation of the *Indians*, and alſo what the dying perſons had declared to me, that ſhe had bewitched them. To which ſhe replied weeping, that ſhe was wronged. I aſked her, how ſhe, being a poor woman, and having no viſible way of procuring it, came by ſo much money as was generally ſeen about her. She anſwered, God gave it her. I exhorted her much to repentance, and to forſake all converſe and fellowſhip with the devil or his imps. By her words and anſwers ſhe ſeemed to be a pious holy woman. She earneſtly intreated me to admit her to the communion with the reſt of the people who were to receive the next day. I told her I durſt not do it; for it was not lawful for me to give her the ſacrament, whilſt ſhe lay under the general accuſation of being a witch: She ſhed many tears, and ſaid, ſhe had received the communion for many years, and it grieved her to be deprived of it in her old age. And ſhe went away very diſcontented. I was very much perplexed in my mind, and inclinable to believe the old woman innocent, had it not been for the following accident, which happened to me the very night after I had refuſed her the ſacrament; as I was at ſtudy in my chamber between ten and eleven o'clock, and my ſervants all in bed, on a ſudden the great door in the hall flew open, and I heard ſome perſon walking about the hall for a conſiderable time, at length I heard a door open into a room where my ſaddles hung, I then ſuppoſed it might be the blackmoor, *Miguel Dalva*, hanging up his ſaddle, becauſe he would ſometimes come in late, and lodged at my houſe, I therefore called him by his name ſeveral times, but no body anſwered; and preſently the door which leads out of the hall into the garden, flew open: This ſurprized me, and I rapped ſmartly with my cane to wake my ſervants, who came up into my chamber (for they all ſlept below) I aſked them if they had not heard ſome body in the hall; they all except one, anſwered no! for they were all aſleep; but one of them ſaid he heard it, and gave me exactly the ſame account of it as I have related. I then took the candle and went down to examine the doors, which I found all made faſt, and in the ſame poſition (as the ſervants aſſured me) they were in when they went to bed. I then cauſed two of my ſervants to wait in my chamber all night, with a light burning by them; being reſolved, if I heard any more noiſe, to proſecute the diſcovery if poſſible; but all was quiet afterwards. The next morning early I ſent for the fiſcal, or clerk of the church, and acquainted him in what manner I had been diſturbed the night before: He ſaid it was the old woman *Carillo*; for ſhe frequently played ſuch pranks to thoſe who offended her. I was fully convinced it could not be ſhe herſelf, who got into my houſe, what her familiar ſpirits might do,

do, I cannot determine. However, that day, after the communion was over, ſome creditable *Indians* informing me, that old *Carillo* threatened to play me ſome prank, for refuſing her the ſacrament, I thought it was the moſt prudent method, for my own eaſe and the peace of the town, to ſend her to the preſident and biſhop at *Guatemala*; and accordingly I ſent her thither, with the informations I had taken againſt her, and the evidences and witneſſes to ſupport the ſame, when ſhe was committed to priſon for her trial, and died there within two months.

But this was nothing to what happened afterwards to one *John Gomez*, a man of near fourſcore years of age, the head and ruler of the moſt powerful tribe of *Indians*, whoſe advice and counſel was taken and preferred in all their affairs: This man ſeemed to be a very godly *Indian*, ſeldom miſſing morning and evening prayers in the church, upon which he had beſtowed many rich gifts and donations. This *Indian* was ſuddenly taken ſick, and I being at *Mixco*, nine miles from *Pinola*, was ſent for at midnight to hear his confeſſion, and to aſſiſt him in his laſt moments. I accordingly came to him in a very wet night, eſteeming it a work of charity; when I arrived, I found him much muffled up: He thanked me for the care I had of his ſoul, and deſired me to take his confeſſion, by which and his lamentations, I took him to be a ſincere penitent; I prepared him for death, and as I was giving him the extreme unction, I perceived him to be much ſwelled, and his ſkin black and blue in many places; but this I did not much regard, thinking it might proceed from the cauſe of his ſickneſs. The next day I was informed *Gomez* was dead, and going into the church, I ſaw his grave preparing: Here I met with two or three creditable *Spaniards* of my acquaintance, who lived near the town, and were come to maſs that morning; I invited them to my houſe, where we fell into diſcourſe about this *Gomez*, I telling them, that I took him to be a good man, that he had lived holy, and that I doubted not of his ſalvation. Upon which the *Spaniards* ſmiling, ſaid, that I was much deceived by all the *Indians*, but eſpecially by the deceaſed *Gomez*, if I judged him to be a ſaint and holy man: That I knew little of the true cauſe of *Gomez*'s death, and of the great buſtle that was then in the town concerning the ſame: That this *Gomez* was the chief of all the wizards and witches in thoſe parts: That *Sebaſtian Lopez*, an ancient *Indian*, and head of another Tribe, was alſo a very great wizard; and that there was a mortal hatred betwixt him and this *Gomez*; That they had lately met and fought together in a moſt deſperate Manner; in which *Gomez* was ſo beat and bruiſed that he died thereof; and that *Lopez* was now in priſon for the ſame. I took leave of the *Spaniards*, and went to the priſon, where I found *Lopez* in irons. I ſent for the Alguazil Major, and enquired of him why *Lopez* was put into Priſon. After enjoining me to ſecreſy, he told me much the ſame ſtory as the *Spaniards* had before related. *Lopez* was ſent to *Guatemala*, tried there for the murder of *Gomez*, convicted by his own confeſſion, and hanged. *Gomez* was not allowed a chriſtian funeral, but buried in a ditch.

In *Mixco* I alſo found ſome *Indians* as great diſſemblers as *Gomez*, even ſome of the richeſt and chiefeſt of the town, of theſe were four brothers, called *Fuentes*, and half a ſcore more. Theſe were very liberal to the church, much devoted to the ſaints, and kept the feſtivals with much ſolemnity, and yet were inwardly great idolaters. But I found means to bring to light their hidden works of darkneſs, which the privacy of a thick wood and a mountain had many years ſecreted from the eyes of the world. Some of theſe idolaters being one day in the company of certain chriſtians, boaſted of their God, ſaying, he had preached better doctrine to them than I could preach; and that he told them they muſt not believe what I ſaid of Chriſt, but follow the old ways of their forefathers, who worſhipped their gods aright; and that the *Spaniards* worſhipped a falſe God. The chriſtians enquired of them where that God was, and promiſing to worſhip him, they by this means diſcovered the place and mountain where their God was hid. This came to the knowledge of a *Spaniard* in the valley, who came to *Mixco* and acquainted me of it. I was very much grieved, that after all the pains I had taken in preaching Chriſt to them, and the true God, they ſhould ſtill follow idols and worſhip the Devil. I enquired of this *Spaniard*, whether he knew where this idol was to be found: He ſaid he believed ſuch an *Indian*, whom he named, could inform me. I ſent for this *Indian*, and confronted him with the *Spaniard*: He confeſs'd to me, that he had heard of ſuch a thing, but was afraid to diſcover it, leſt, by the power of the Devil, they might do him a great deal of harm. I then aſſured him, the Devil could not hurt him, if he had faith in Chriſt; I alſo threaten'd him, that if he did not tell me who the *Indians* were, and where their idol was, I would carry him to *Guatemala*, and there force him to diſcover what he knew. Upon which he began to tremble, and told me the *Fuentes* had boaſted of ſuch an idol, whom they called their God, and that it lay in a cave in a mountain ſurrounded by a wood, and that a fountain and a pine-tree grew near the mouth of the cave, but tho' he had been in the wood, he knew not the cave: I told him I would go in ſearch of it the next day, and he ſhould go with me to aſſiſt in the ſearch. He refuſed to go being ſtill afraid the idolaters would kill both him and me. I anſwer'd, I would ſoon convince him that God was above the Devil, and he muſt attend me; whereupon he ſeemed to be ſatisfied; nevertheleſs, I thought it not prudent to truſt him out of my ſight for fear he ſhould reveal my intentions. The next day I reſolved to go in ſearch of the cave, and to carry with me three or four *Spaniards*, and my truſty black moor *Miguel Dalva*. Accordingly I ſet out with the *Indian* and the reſt of my company for this wood, which lay about ſix miles from *Mixco*. When we came into the wood, we ſoon met with a ſpring, and ſearched diligently about, but could find no cave; then we began to aſcend the mountain, and found another ſpring, but no cave; we continued our ſearch till evening, but all in vain; the company were now for returning home; but I remonſtrated to them, that going backwards and forwards would render us ſuſpected; therefore we took up our lodging that night in the wood. The next day having carefully ſearched the ſouth ſide of the mountain,

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we repaired to the north ſide, where we found a blind track, which we followed until we came to another ſpring of water: Here we ſearched very narrowly, and met with ſome broken earthen diſhes and pots, and a piece of a chafing-diſh, ſuch as the *Indians* uſe to burn frankincenſe in, we then believed theſe were ſuch inſtruments wherewith the *Indians* performed their adoration to their idols; the pine-tree alſo we took notice of; after a very ſhort ſearch we found the cave, and at the entrance more earthen-ware, with aſhes in them, and were fully convinced frankincenſe had been burned there. We knew not how long the cave might be, and therefore, we lighted a couple of candles, and enter'd it, and within two rods we found the idol ſtanding upon a low ſtool and covered with a linnen cloth; the ſubſtance of it was wood, black and ſhining like jet; the form was a man's head unto the ſhoulders, without either beard or muſtachoes, his countenance was grim, with a wrinkled forehead, and broad ſtaring eyes: We were not afraid of his frowning look, but preſently ſeized him, and lifting him up, we found ſome ſingle rials under him, which his devotees had offered to him; upon this we ſearched the cave more diligently, and found more ſingle rials, ſome plantains and other fruits, wax candles half burned, pots of maiz and a little pot of honey. Had I not been informed that they called this idol their God, I could have blamed them no more than their neighbours, who worſhip and adore their ſaints made of wood, and make offerings to them; all the difference was, that they perſuaded that this image was their only God, and that he was greater than all the ſaints in the country.

We ſtopped up the mouth of the cave with the boughs of trees and ſtones, and left it, making the *Indian* carry the idol wrapped up in a linnen cloth. I called at one of the *Spaniards* houſes in our way, where we ſtaid till late in the night, that the *Indians* might not miſtruſt what we had been about; and I deſired that *Spaniard*, to warn by me all the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts to be at *Mixco* church the next ſabbath upon an extraordinary occaſion. In the night we went to my houſe, where I ſtowed the idol very ſecretly until Sunday, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any except thoſe who accompanied me. I kept my truſty champion, *Miguel Dalva* with me, who was very deſirous to ſee the end of this affair. On Sunday morning I ordered *Dalva* to carry the idol under his cloak to the church, and to leave it in the pulpit ſhut up, that it might not be ſeen until I thought proper to produce it, and to walk about the church until I came. There never was a greater reſort of *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and *Blackmoors* to that church, than on this day, who by the warning I had ſent them expected great matter from me. The *Fuentes*, and all the reſt who worſhipped this idol were alſo there, not in the leaſt miſtruſting I had got their god in my pulpit. I deſired the *Spaniards* who were privy to the buſineſs, and *Miguel Dalva*, to keep near the pulpit, to protect me, if the idolaters made any commotions. At the uſual time I went to the church, ſaid maſs, and then aſcended the pulpit. It is the cuſtom of the church of *Rome* to take their texts out of goſpels, and not out of the old teſtament; however upon this occaſion, I took mine from the 20th chapter of *Exodus*, ver. 3. *Thou ſhalt have no other gods before me.* Both the

Spaniards

Spaniards and *Indians* seemed surprized at my taking the text out of the old testament. After explaining the heinous sin as well as stupidity of idolatry, and the worshiping stocks and stones, inanimate beings, the work of men's hands, who had eyes, but saw not, who had ears, but heard not, who had hands and feet, but could not move or defend themselves; and expatiating with my congregation the folly of preferring this idol worship to the worship of the true God, I told them I had taken one of their gods prisoner, and had him in my pulpit; then stooping down, I lifted up the black grim, staring *Dagon*, and placed him on one side of me; then fixing my eyes upon the *Fuentes*, I desired the congregation to behold, what a god some of them worshipped, to view him well, and then to declare what part of the world was his dominion, or from whence he came, if any of them knew. I told them, that some then present had boasted, that piece of wood had spoken, and that it had preached against the doctrine of Christ, which I taught; and therefore it had been worshipped as a god by some persons in this congregation; and that they had offered money, honey, and of the fruits of the earth to this stupid log, and had burnt frankincense before this insensible inanimate being, in a secret cave under the earth, shewing thereby that they were ashamed to own him publickly, and that its being concealed in the dark part of the earth, shewed plainly that it belonged to the prince of darkness: I then called upon *Dagon*, to speak for himself, or by his silence to shame and confound all his worshippers. All this time I observed the *Fuentes* to change colour, and remain in confusion. Addressing myself to the congregation again, I placed the decision of the whole matter upon this fair footing, that if there was any power and efficacy in this pretended god, or in his master, the devil himself, who had made use of him as his instrument to deceive the poor wretches who had worshipped this idol, and that satan could take him from that place where I had fixed him, or prevent the destruction I intended him, then I would allow myself to be an impostor, and the doctrine of Christ to be false and spurious; but if they saw no such pretended power in this idol, then I beseeched them to forsake the devil and all his works, and to return to the living and true God, who had created all things both in heaven and earth; assuring them, that I would intercede with the president and bishop, not to punish them for what was past. Then concluding, without naming any person, I went down from the pulpit, and sent for an axe, and two or three great pans of coals; I then commanded *Dalva* to cut the pretended god into small pieces, and to cast it into the fire, and burn it before all the people in the midst of the church. The *Spaniards* and others expressing great joy for the victory obtained over these idolaters, who afterwards acted against me in the most invidious manner, seeking all opportunities to destroy me.

I wrote to the president of *Guatemala*, and to the bishop, acquainting them with what I had done, who commended me very much for what I had done in defence of christianity and the distruction of idolatry. Had not Heaven graciously protected me against my enemies, I should certainly have been murder'd; for about a month after the burning of

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the idol, when I thought all was forgotten, and the idolaters quiet, I heard a noiſe about midnight at my chamber-door, and aſked who was there; but no anſwer being made, and perceiving they were endeavouring to wrench open the door, I called aloud to my ſervants, who lay at the further end of a long gallery; who came to my aſſiſtance, and the rogues thereupon went off undiſcover'd. After which I again got *Dalva* to lodge in the houſe, and procured proper arms for my defence: By this precaution I remained quiet for about a month; when I had like to have been murder'd by the following ſtratagem. *Pablo de Fuentes*, the head of the family, pretended to be dangerouſly ill, and at the point of death; and counterfeiting great ſorrow for his paſt idolatries, ſent for me to aſſiſt him as in his laſt moments, upon which I readily attended, being joyful to be informed of his converſion; when I came to the houſe, and open'd the door, I ſaw all the *Fuentes*, with other idolaters gather'd together, and *Pablo* himſelf not preſent. Whereupon I ſuſpected ſome miſchief, and withdrew, in order to return home; which I had no ſooner done, but *Pablo* came from behind the houſe, with a club in his hand, and endeavour'd to knock me down; but I catched hold of it with both my hands, and prevented the blow.

Whilſt we were ſtriving for the club, the others came out of the houſe, and beſet me round; in endeavouring to twiſt the club out of my hand, they ſtruck it againſt my mouth, and broke ſome of my teeth; and I do verily believe they would have murder'd me, if a female mulatto ſlave belonging to a *Spaniard* had not happen'd to ſee me all over blood as ſhe paſſed by, and alarm'd the people with a cry of murder; upon which ſeveral *Spaniards* came to my aſſiſtance, and reſcued me from thoſe wicked wretches, who would have deſtroyed my body for taking care to preſerve their ſouls. The *Spaniards*, when they ſaw me bloody, would have killed *Pablo Fuentes*, but I prevented it, only deſiring them to ſeize him and carry him to priſon, which was preſently done. The buſineſs was ſoon ſpread about the valley, and ſeveral *Spaniards* came to offer their ſervices, as a guard to my perſon. That night they ſurpriſed ten of the *Fuentes* in one houſe, and carried them all to priſon. In the morning the preſident of *Guatemala* (who then was don *Juan de Guzman*) having received the letter I had wrote to him the day before, about my being abuſed, and judging me to be in danger, ſent a *Spaniſh* Alguazile to bring priſoners to the city all thoſe who were concerned in the conſpiracy againſt me. When they arrived at *Guatemala*, they were all committed to cloſe priſon, and afterwards publickly whipped through the ſtreets of the city. The preſident baniſhed two of them from *Mixco* to the Gulph of *St. Thomas de Caſtilia*; and would have baniſhed them all, if I had not interceded for them, upon their ſubmiſſion, and promiſe to amend their lives, and to make me ſatisfaction for what I had ſuffered by them; and if they ever offer'd to ſtir againſt me, they would ſubmit to be hanged, and forfeit all their goods. Upon which the preſident obliged them to pay twenty crowns apiece to the church, and then ſent them back: After which I lived very peaceably and quietly amongſt them.

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The year after this diſorder happened, I received from *Rome*, a licence to return to my native country, *England*, which rejoiced me very much. I wrote to the provincial, that I had received a licence from *Rome*, and was deſirous of returning home: But he having heard of the ſervices I had done in the town of *Mixco*, by reducing theſe idolaters, burning their idol, and venturing my life in ſo good a cauſe, would not permit me to go by any means; and that he might the more readily prevail upon me to ſtay, he ſent me a patent for vicar of the town and cloiſter of *Amatitlan*, where there was a new cloiſter building, to ſeparate all that valley from the cloiſter of *Guatemala*. Although I regarded not this new preferment, yet I conſider'd, that if the provincial and the preſident of *Guatemala* ſhould both oppoſe my departure from that country, it would be difficult for me to take my journey any way without being ſeized and brought back. I therefore accepted of the vicarage of *Amatitlan* for the preſent, where I had more opportunity of getting money than both the others. In the town there are many rich *Indians*, who trade on the South-Sea. After ſtaying here a twelvemonth, I again applied to the provincial, who was in *Guatemala*, earneſtly beſeeching him to peruſe the licence which I had from *Rome*, to return to *England* to preach there: The provincial replied, that my countrymen were hereticks; and when I came amongſt them they would hang me up. I told him I hoped better things of them, and that I would not behave myſelf in ſuch a manner as to deſerve hanging. After a long diſcourſe, I found the provincial inexorable, and half angry, telling me, that he and the whole province had caſt their eyes upon me, and honoured me, and were willing to promote me further; and that I ſhould ſhew myſelf very ungrateful if I ſhould forſake them for my own nation and people, whom I had not ſeen from my youth paſt. I perceived there was no more to be ſaid, and that all would be in vain; and ſo I reſolved to take my beſt opportunity, and with my licence from *Rome*, to come away unknown to him. Therefore I humbly beſeeched him to remove me from *Amatitlan*, for that I found myſelf unable to perform that great charge. He at laſt condeſcended to this requeſt, and gave me orders to go to *Petapa*, and the vicar of *Petapa* ſhould go to finiſh the work at *Amatitlan*.

In *Petapan* I lived above a twelvemonth in great eaſe, pleaſure and content; yet I was ſtill very deſirous to depart for *England*; and was now determined, happen what would, to attempt it. But I conſider'd that I could not effect my purpoſe without ſome aſſiſtance, the firſt or ſecond day's journey; and I thought I could truſt no one more ſecurely with this ſecret, than my truſty ſervant *Miguel Dalva*, whom by long experience I knew to be faithful: I therefore ſent for him, and enjoining him to ſecrecy; I told him I had a journey for my conſcience ſake to make to *Rome*, which I would have none to know of but himſelf; and that I intended to return again in two years. *Miguel* offered to go along with me; which I refuſed, telling him, it was too ſevere a ſervice for his old age; he then inſiſted on attending me to the ſea ſide, which I granted him: I then employed him to ſell my mules, wheat and maiz: My rich pictures, I ſold to the governor of *Patapa*, for the uſe of the church: Moſt of my books, cheſts, cabinets, quilts, and many good

pieces

pieces of houſhold ſtuff, *Miguel* (whom I kept conſtantly with me for two months before my departure) ſold in *Guatemala*: When I had ſold all that I intended, I found that I had in *Spaniſh* money about 9000 pieces of eight, which I had got in twelve years that I lived in that country. So much money I thought would be too cumberſome for ſo long a journey as I had to go by land, I therefore turned about 4000 of them into pearls and precious ſtones, and endeavoured to exchange the reſt into *Spaniſh* piſtoles. I contrived to ſend my baggage four days at leaſt before me by a truſty *Indian* friend, who ſet out about midnight with two mules, and I directed him to travel towards *Nicaragua*.

The chief thing that troubled me in my reſolved purpoſe, was the choice of the ſafeſt way; by the gulph was the readieſt, that ſea being neareſt to the place where I lived: But there I knew I ſhould meet with many of my acquaintance, and the ſailing of the ſhips was ſo uncertain, that before they departed, orders might come from *Guatemala* to ſtop me. If I ſhould go by land through *Truxillo*, and there wait for the ſhips, I was afraid the governor of that place might examine me and ſend me back, or that the maſters of the veſſels might have orders not to take me on board: And I could not bear the thoughts of going back to *Mexico*, by the way of *Chiapa*, having ſuffered ſo much in that journey before. Wherefore I choſe the way by *Nicaragua*, and the lake of *Granada*; and therefore I deferred my journey till the week after *Chriſtmas*, knowing that the time of the frigates ſetting out from that lake to the *Havanna*, was commonly after the middle of *January*. And that I might by no means be ſuſpected to have taken this way, before I departed; I left a letter to be delivered to the preſident of *Guatemala*, in four or five days, wherein I kindly took my farewell of him, deſiring him to excuſe my leaving the country, becauſe I was very deſirous of returning home, and had obtained a licence from *Rome* for that purpoſe, though he would not grant me his. And becauſe he might not ſuſpect I had taken the rout of *Nicaragua*, I dated my letter to him from the town of *St. Antonio Suchutepeques*, which was the way to *Mexico*.

CHAP. XV.

The author's departure from Petapa *towards* Nicaragua, *and the lake of* Granada, *with the chief paſſages that happened in the way.*

THE ſeventh day of *January*, at night, 1637, when all the town had betaken themſelves to their natural reſt, I bid adieu to *Petapa*, and to all my friends throughout *America*, ſetting out upon a luſty mule, which I afterwards ſold for fourſcore pieces of eight, having only the honeſt and truſty *Miguel Dalva* in my company. It was break of day before we got to the top of the mountain called *Serro Redono*, or the Round Hill. Here is good refreſhment for travellers in a *venta*, or publick houſe, where wine and proviſions are ſold. This place is five leagues from *Petapa*, and I paſſed by the houſe at the dawning of the day, not chuſing to bait there, leaſt ſome people of *Petapa* might have put up in that tavern, who might know me, beſides

I saw many *Indians* asleep there, who were attending some gangs of mules which were going that day to *Petapa*. Four leagues further we came to a town called *Los Esclavos*, which standeth in a bottom by a river, over which the *Spaniards* have built a very strong stone bridge: Here we only staid to drink a cup of chocolate, and to bait our mules; from thence we went on to *Aguachapa*, being ten leagues further, and not far from the South Sea, and the port called *De la Trinidad*, whither we came towards evening, having that day travelled about threescore *English* miles. About a mile from this place is a great volcano, which the *Spaniards* superstitiously declare to be the mouth of hell; because out of it there is constantly ascending a thick black smoke, and some flashes now and then of fire; the ground is low from which this volcano ascends, and none dare venture so nigh as to search into the occasion of it. A friar of my acquaintance, and a person whom I could confide in as to his veracity, affirmed to me upon oath, that travelling that way with a provincial, he had a mind to satisfy himself of the cause of the strange talk of this smoke and fire, he therefore approached within a quarter of a mile of it, when he heard a hideous noise, and the stench of the smoke and brimstone had almost stifled him, which so terrifyed him, that he retreated with all imaginable precipitance: He was afterwards taken with such a burning fever as had like to have cost him his life. The superstitious report, that whenever they have gone near it, they have heard great cries, as of persons in torment, and rattling of chains, which fable hath given rise to its being called the mouth of hell. Of my own knowledge I will say no more than that I saw the smoke; nor had I time to examine into this phænomenon; not that I feared the mouth of hell, but was more afraid of some messengers being sent after me to stop my journey. I therefore departed at midnight from thence, and got to a great town called *Chalcuapan* to breakfast, where the *Indians* made very much of me, being *Pocomanes*, who spoke the *Poconchi* language, which I had learned. They greatly importuned me to stay and preach to them the next sabbath, which I would have done, had not a greater design required my departure.

I was greatly perplexed to get through *St. Salvador*, which was a city of *Spaniards*, and wherein there was a cloister of *Dominicans*, whom I feared most of all; because I was personally known by some of them. My resolution therefore was, when I came near the city, to turn out of the road to some *Spanish* farm, and pretend I had lost my way, and there delay the time till evening in drinking chocolate, chatting, and baiting and resting my mules; so that I might travel all night, and be out of fear of these friars before the morning. This city of *St. Salvador* is but poor, not much begger than *Chiapa*, and hath a *Spanish* governor over it, and lieth forty leagues at least distant from *Guatemala*. Towards evening I departed from the farm; where we had well refreshed ourselves and our mules, and that night we rode through the city about eight o'clock, not being known or suspected by any one. By seven in the morning I came to a great river, called *Rio de Lempa*, where I overtook my trusty *Indian* of *Mixco* ready to pass over

with

with my baggage, who had that morning come from a town about two leagues off. You may be ſure I was very glad to overtake my baggage, in which was all my treaſure, and to find my *Indian* friend ſo faithful. I ſat down by the river whilſt our Mules grazed, and the *Indian* ſtruck fire, and made us ſome Chocolate. This river of *Lempa* is eſteemed the broadeſt and largeſt in all the juriſdiction belonging to *Guatemala*; and there are conſtantly two ferry-boats attending to carry over travellers and their mules. It is a kind of place of refuge or privilege in the following manner: If a man commit any heinous crime, even murder itſelf, on this ſide of *Guatemala* and *St. Salvador*, or on the other ſide of *St. Miguel* or *Nicaragua*, and can fly ſo as to get over this river, he is free ſo long as he continues on the oppoſite ſide, and no juſtice on that ſide to which he hath eſcaped, hath any power to trouble or moleſt him for the crime committed, be it what it will: Neither can he be arreſted for any debt whatſoever. Though I neither fled for the one nor the other, yet it was a comfort to me, that my purſuers, if they followed me that way, would come no further than the river of *Lempa*. Honeſt *Miguel Dalva* congratulated me upon the occaſion, and warranted all would go well. We ferried ſafely over the river; and then travelled about two leagues to a village, where we made the beſt and moſt agreeable dinner ſince we left *Petapa*, ſtaying to refreſh ourſelves and our mules, till four o'clock in the afternoon; from whence we arrived that evening at another ſmall town about two leagues further, through a plain and champaign country. The next day we travelled ten leagues, to a town called *St. Miguel*, which belongeth to *Spaniards*, and though it is not a city, it is about as large as *St. Salvador*, and hath a *Spaniſh* governor; in it there is one cloiſter of *Mercenarian* friars, and another of nuns; the friars welcomed me unto their cloiſter; for here I began to ſhew my face, thinking myſelf out of danger, and reſolved to go from hence by ſea to a town in *Nicaragua*, called *La Veija*. I would here have diſmiſſed my *Indian*, but he was loth to leave me until I got to *Granada*, where he deſired to ſee me take ſhipping. I did not refuſe his kind offer, becauſe I knew he was truſty, and was alſo well acquainted with the way to *Granada*. So I ſent him with the mules by land to *La Veija*, except that I rode on, which I ſold in this town of *St. Miguel*, becauſe I knew I could get one to ride a day's journey for nothing of the *Indians*. I ſent *Miguel Dalva*'s mule alſo with the *Indian*. That afternoon I took boat with ſeveral other paſſengers, and the next morning by eight o'clock we landed at *La Veija*, which journey by land, would have taken me up three days. The next day in the evening, the *Indian* arrived with my baggage: And from *La Veija*, we travelled to *Realejo*, a haven upon the South Sea. Here, had I ſtay'd one fortnight, I might have taken ſhipping for *Panama*, and from thence have travelled to *Porto-Bello*, and taken the advantage of a paſſage in the galeons, but I conſidered that the galeons would not be there till *June* or *July*, and it would be chargeable to wait ſo long; but afterwards I had a melancholy occaſion to wiſh I had taken that rout, as the ſequal of my journey will ſhew. From *Realejo* we travelled to *Granada*, and came to the city of *Leon* in our way, which ſtandeth near a volcano or burning

mountain, concerning which they relate a pleaſant ſtory of a *Mercenarian* friar, who pretended he had diſcovered a treaſure which would enrich the whole country; for he was fully perſuaded the metal burning within that volcano was pure gold; whereupon, at a prodigious expence, he procured a great iron kettle to be made, to which he affixed a long iron chain; this, by an engine contrived for the purpoſe, was let down into the mountain to bring up refined melted gold; by which means the friar ſoon expected to have gold enough to purchaſe a biſhoprick, and to enrich himſelf and all his kindred and neighbours, whom he had drawn into the project. But the kettle to ſooner came near the metal, than it melted in an inſtant, and all their golden dreams vaniſhed.

From the city of *Leon*, which is curiouſly built, the Way to *Granada* is plain and pleaſant, and I arrived there ſafe with my company; and here I intended to diſcharge the *Indian* and the *Blackmoor*, but true and faithful *Miguel Dalva*, would by no means leave me till he ſaw me ſhipp'd. However, I diſcharged the *Indian*, after paying him well for his trouble and ſervice. In the town of *Granada* there are two cloiſters of *Mercenarian* and *Franciſcan* friars, one of the nuns, very rich, and one pariſh church, which was the cathedral; for the biſhop of *Leon* makes his chief reſidence here. The place is very wealthy and carries on a great trade; whilſt I was there, I ſaw three hundred mules enter in one day, laden with indigo, cochineal, and hides; and two days after a hundred and fifty mules more arrived, fifty of which were laden with ſilver, being the king's tribute from the country; fifty with ſugar, and the other fifty with indigo. I was much afraid of being diſcovered by ſome of theſe muletiers who came from *Guatemala*, I therefore withdrew to a ſmall town about a league from *Granada*, where I was much feaſted by the *Mercenarian* friars, reſiding in the neighbouring country villages. I went now and then to *Granada* to look after a paſſage, and at laſt agreed with a maſter of a veſſel to diet at his table: But within four or five days of the time of our ſailing, a ſtrict command came from *Guatemala*, that the fleet ſhould not ſail that year; for that the preſident and council had received certain intelligence, that ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips were waiting at the mouth of the river for the *Granada* fleet. This was heavy news to me, who knew not now which way to diſpoſe of myſelf. I began to think and wiſh I had gone with the ſhip from *Realejo* to *Panama*; and enquiring after her, found ſhe was newly ſailed. There were ſome other paſſengers who were diſappointed, as well as myſelf, and conſulting together with a merchant of *Granada*, he adviſed us to go by land to *Carthago*, where we ſhould be ſure to meet with ſome ſmall craft going down the rivers to *Porto-Bello*, with proviſions for the gallions. This was a difficult journey of a hundred and fifty leagues, over mountains and through deſerts, where we ſhould be put to great hazards, however, rather than go back to *Guatemala*, we reſolved to purſue our journey by land: For which purpoſe I bought another good mule to ride on, and one to carry my baggage; My truſty ſervant *Miguel Dalva*, would have willingly gone with me to *Porto-Bello*, but I would by no means allow it, therefore having given him money ſufficient to carry him home, I took my leave of him.

Three

Three *Spaniſh* gentlemen and myſelf then departed from *Granada*, with an *Indian* for our guide: On our ſecond day's journey, as we were riding along by the ſide of the lake of *Granada*, a monſtrous crocodile had come out of the ſaid lake and lay baſking in the ſun acroſs the road; at firſt we did not mind him, taking it for a tree fallen down, until coming nearer, we perceived his ſcaly hide, and ſaw him move: We endeavoured to ſhun him, but found he purſued us, upon which we were terribly ſurprized. The *Indian* guide told us not to fear him, but to make a ſhort turn every now and then, when we found he approached us, and we ſhould be ſafe: By this method we in a ſhort time got clear of him, to our great ſatisfaction: For he was dreadful to behold: His ſhape is not unlike a lizard, his body like the trunk of a tree, and ſo unweildy that he cannot eaſily turn, by which means we eſcaped his hideous voracious jaws. We arrived after many weary days journey at *Carthago*, without any accident very remarkable. This city conſiſts of four hundred families, govern'd by a *Spaniſh* governor, is a biſhop's ſee, and hath in it three cloiſters, two of friars, and one of nuns. Here we enquired after ſhipping for *Porto-Bello* or *Carthagena*; and were informed, there was one veſſel ready to ſet out from the river *De Los Anguelos*, and another from the river *Suere*; but that *Suere* would be the moſt convenient place for our paſſage; becauſe along that river there were more towns of *Indians* and farms of *Spaniards*, and conſequently greater plenty of freſh proviſions: We therefore ſet out from *Carthago*, for the river *Suere*, and arrived there ſo opportunely, that we waited but three days at a *Spaniſh* farm before the veſſel ſailed. The maſter of the frigate was exceeding glad of our company; and offered to carry me for nothing, only my prayers to Heaven for a ſafe paſſage; which he hoped would not be above three or four days ſail to *Porto-Bello*: The greateſt danger, he told us, was at the mouth of the river, entering into the main ſea, where, in ſome places the current was very ſtrong and full of ſhoals and rocks. He was laden with honey, hides, bacon, meal, and fowls: However, we got out ſafe to ſea, where we had not ſailed above twenty leagues, before we ſaw two ſhips making towards us: Our hearts began to ſhudder, and the maſter of the veſſel himſelf we perceiv'd was not without fear, ſuſpecting they were *Engliſh* or *Holland* ſhips: We had neither guns nor arms, except four or five muſkets, and half a dozen ſwords: We crouded all the ſail we could, but before we had got five leagues towards *Porto-Bello*, we could from our main top eaſily diſcover that they were *Hollanders*, and too nimble for our little veſſel, which one of them, being a man of war, preſently fetch'd up, and with a thundering meſſage obliged us to ſtrike. What dreadful thoughts did now begin to ſeize my dejected heart! Farewel, ſaid I, to all conceptions of ever ſeeing my native country! Farewel to all the treaſure I have been hoarding up for twelve years paſt! I am ſtript of that and my liberty, in one and the ſame fatal Hour. However, in the midſt of our diſtreſſes, we were ſomewhat comforted, when we heard the captain of the man of war was a mulatto *Spaniard*, born in the *Havana*, who had been brought up among the *Spaniards*, and from whom we expected more favour than from the *Hollanders*. This mulatto

mulatto having been ill uſed by the *Spaniards* in the *Havana*, fled to the *Hollanders*; and having done them ſome ſingular ſervices, and proved true and truſty to them, they much eſteemed him, married him to one of their own nation, and made him captain of a man of war in the ſquadron commanded by that brave and gallant *Dutchman*, called *Pie de Palo*, or *Wooden Leg*, whom the *Spaniards* ſo much dreaded. This mulatto would have found little worth his labour in our ſmall frigate, had it not been for my pieces of gold and ſilver, and my pearls and precious ſtones. The *Spaniſh* paſſengers alſo loſt ſome hundred pieces of eight. This treaſure pleaſed them much more than our maſter's proviſions of fowls, bacon and meal. My books, pictures, cloaths, and bedding, I begg'd of this mulatto captain, who gave them to me very freely. I had this ſmall comfort however; in my quilt I had ſewed up a number of piſtoles, and ſome more in my doublet, which the *Hollanders* did not diſcover; and the mulatto ſaid the quilt was part of my bedding, and ordered it to be given to me; by this means I ſaved about a thouſand crowns. The captain made a ſtately dinner in our frigate out of the proviſion he found on board, and invited me to table with him; and knowing I was going to the *Havanna*, he drank a health to his mother there, and deſired I would ſee her, and remember him to her; and let her know the ſtation he was in, and that he had uſed me as kindly as he could for her ſake: He further ſaid, that to oblige me, he would give us the frigate to carry us to land, and then we might find a ſafer way to *Porto-Bello*, without fear of falling in with the *Dutch* fleet. After dinner I conferred with the captain alone, and told him I was no *Spaniard*, but an *Engliſhman* born; ſhewing the licence which I had obtained from *Rome* to go to *England*; and therefore hoped, that as I was not of an enemy nation, he would reſtore me my effects. But this little availed me; he told me I muſt ſuffer amongſt thoſe with whom I was found; and that I might as well claim all the goods in the ſhip. I then deſired he would carry me with him to *Holland*, by which means in my diſtreſſed condition, I might the more readily get home to my native country. This he alſo refuſed, telling me he knew not when he ſhould go to *Holland*; that he was to continue roving about in thoſe ſeas, and was to attack every *Spaniſh* ſhip he met with, and therefore it was not ſafe for me to continue on board. With theſe anſwers I was obliged to content myſelf. The ſoldiers and ſailors belonging to the man of war, were buſily employed in unloading our veſſel that afternoon into their own ſhip, leaving me my books, my pictures, my valuable quilt, in which my piſtoles were concealed, and my cloaths: The captain alſo gave us as much proviſions as would carry us ſafe to land, and took his leave of us.

We returned to the mouth of the river *Suere*, from whence we had ſat out, in the entering whereof we had like to have been caſt away, and ſo to have loſt our lives as well as our treaſure; however, we landed ſafe; and when the *Spaniards* heard of our misfortunes, they were very kind to us, and made a charitable collection for us. The three *Spaniards*, my companions, loſt all their money and the beſt of their apparel; but they had reſerved ſome bills of exchange to take up money

at

at *Porto-Bello*; and I wish I had taken the same precaution, and turned my money into the like paper. We were at a loss what course to take; sometimes we thought of going to the river *De los Anguelos*, but were told that the shipping there was either already gone, or certainly would be before we arrived; and they run the same hazard of being made prizes as we had: We therefore resolved, by the charitable assistance of the *Spaniards*, to return to *Carthago*, and there to consult further what to do. In the way we conferred together upon what we had saved; the *Spaniards* bragged much of their bills of exchange, and I told them I had saved something. However, we agreed to plead poverty and misery all the way, in order to make up part of our losses by the charity of well disposed people. When we came to *Carthago*, we were indeed very much pitied, and large collections were made for us. We then consulted with our friends the merchants at *Carthago*, what way we had best to take, and they were of opinion, we had best to take passage on the South-Sea, for *Panama*, in the gulph *De Salinas*: We were willing to follow this good advice; and accordingly set out from *Carthago* for the town of *Nicoya*; the way was very mountainous and unpleasant, for we met with very few farms or towns, and those consisting of wretched poor people. Yet *Nicoya* itself is a pretty town, and head of a *Spanish* government, where *Justo de Salazar*, Alcaldo-major, entertained us very well, and provided good lodgings for us during the time we remained there. He told us there was no ship at present in the gulph *De Salinas*; but he doubted not one would be there very soon from *Panama*, which they never failed to do once a year. It being lent, and the friar's chief harvest, I thought this a proper time to get some money towards making up my losses. I staid in this town from the beginning of lent until *Easter* week, and with preaching, saying mass, and other stipends, I got a hundred and fifty crowns. The week before *Easter*, we heard of a ship being come from *Panama*, into the gulph *De Salinas*, to load with salt; and in a few days the master of her came to *Nicoya*, with whom the three *Spaniards* and myself agreed for our passage to *Panama*. The frigate was soon laden, and we went on board, hoping to make our port in four or five days: But the first day we sat sail, we were driven by a wind and storm towards *Peru*, until we got under the equinoctial, where, by excessive storms and intolerable heat, we almost despaired of our lives, and though we had provisions enough, yet we almost perished for want of water, having not a drop for four days, insomuch that we were at last obliged to drink our own urine. In this distressed condition we besought the master to make to some of the many islands round about us, to seek for water, which he refused to do, assuring us that he would land us that day at *Panama*: However, the wind beginning to slacken, and we almost dead with thirst, we still importuned the master to make one of the islands, and he still obstinately refusing our request, the three *Spaniards* and some of the sailors mutiny'd, and with their swords drawn, vowed they would kill the captain immediately, if he any longer refused to relieve them. He finding their naked swords at his breast, agreed to go to an island not above two or three hours sail from us. We all got on shore as fast as we could in the

boat

boat to ſeek for water to allay our thirſt: The place where we landed was uninhabited: and as we ſtraggled about in queſt of ſome ſpring, it was my misfortune to get loſt in the woods; where I wandered about a long time; at laſt I got to the ſhore, and found the boat was gone; I began to conſider myſelf as a dead man, either by famine, or deſtin'd to be murder'd by ſavages, or devoured by wild beaſts: I made ſignals and hail'd the ſhip but all in vain, no one anſwer'd me, but I could not diſcover the boat about the ſhip; then getting as high as I could upon the rocks, I at laſt diſcover'd it upon the next iſland, which made me ſomewhat eaſy, not doubting but they would come to ſee for me before they departed: I therefore came down to the ſhore, and refreſhed my mouth with ſome berries, which I found upon the buſhes; but I was grown ſo weak and faint with heat and thirſt, that I expected nothing but death: At laſt I thought I would ſtrip myſelf, and go into the ſea up to my neck, hoping that would refreſh me, which I did, and coming out again, and ſitting in a cool ſhade, I fell faſt aſleep: In which time the people in the boat came to ſeek for me, they ſearched about but could not find me; they hallowed, and I was in ſo deep a ſleep that it did not awake me; whereupon they imagined I was dead or loſt; till looking more narrowly amongſt the buſhes, they diſcovered me faſt aſleep. When they awaked me, I was rejoiced to ſee them, and aſked them if they had got any water; they bid me get up, and be of good cheer; for they had water enough, and alſo oranges and lemons, which they had got upon the next iſland, where they met with *Spaniſh* inhabitants, who were very kind; when I came to the boat, I drank up a whole pot full of water; but my ſtomach was ſo weak, I preſently threw it up again; they then perſuaded me to eat an orange, and my ſtomach would not bear it. The people thought I would have died in the boat before I could have got to the ſhip, where they put me to bed in a burning fever, and I lay that night, expecting nothing but death, and that the ſea would be my grave. After a very troubleſome night, in the morning my ſtomach began to gather ſtrength, and I could eat and drink a little, and to walk about. In the evening we got to *Puerto de Perico*, where we caſt anchor, expecting to be ſearched in the morning; but that night (the maſter of the ſhip being gone aſhore) the wind turned and blew ſo ſtrong, that we loſt our anchor, and were drove almoſt into the ocean again; and it was with the greateſt difficulty we recovered our former ſtation of *Puerto de Perico*; from which place, after being ſearched, we went on with full ſail for *Panama*; being near the port, but without an anchor, the wind once more blew us back; and had not the maſter of the veſſel ſent us an anchor from the ſhore, we ſhould certainly have gone out to ſea. We wonder'd what misfortune had befallen us; ſome cried out there was a *Jonas* on board, and wiſhed he might be diſcovered, that they might throw him over. Whilſt we were debating about this, the wind came fair again, and we got ſafe into *Panama*. I immediately went on ſhore, and betook myſelf to the cloiſter of the *Dominicans*, where I ſtaid almoſt fifteen Days, viewing the city, which is governed like *Guatemala*, by a preſident and ſix judges; in it is alſo a court of chancery, and it is a biſhop's ſee. It had more

ſtrength

ſtrength towards the ſouth ſea, than any port I had ſeen, and ſome ordnance planted for the defence of it; but the houſes are very weak, being only built of timber and boards, lime and ſtone being not to be had; the preſident's houſe and the cathedral walls are all of boards. The heat here is very extraordinary; the cool water of the Cocoa, is the women's chiefeſt drink, though ſome drink chocolate and wine from *Peru*. It is eſteemed one of the richeſt places in *America*, having by land and the river *Chagre*, commerce with the north ſea, and by the ſouth, trading with all *Peru*, the *Eaſt Indies*, and *Mexico*. Thither is brought the chief treaſure of *Peru*, in two or three great ſhips, which lie at anchor at *Puerto de Perico*, about three leagues from the city; for no great veſſel can come nearer. The city conſiſts of about five thouſand inhabitants, and maintains at leaſt eight cloiſters of friars and nuns. I was much afraid of the heat, and therefore was reſolved to make all the haſte I could out of it.

Intending to go to *Porto-Bello* by the river *Chagre*, to avoid the difficulty of travelling over the mountains by land; I ſet out from *Panama* at midnight, for a place called *Venta de Cruzes*, about ten or 12 leagues by land, through a very plain and pleaſant country. Before ten o'clock in the morning we got to *Venta de Cruzes*, where live none but mulattoes and blackmoors, who belong to the flat boats, which carry the merchandize to *Porto-Bello* But I found very good entertainment amongſt theſe people, who deſired me to preach to them the next ſabbath day, and gave me twenty crowns for a ſermon and proceſſion. After ſtaying there five days, the boats ſet out: We met with a difficult paſſage, though it was down the ſtream, ſometimes by reaſon of the ſhoals, ſometimes by reaſon of boughs and trees, which were obliged to be cut away: After the firſt week there fell plenty of rain, by the help of which we got to the ſea in about 12 days; at the point we landed at the caſtle, and ſtaid half a day to refreſh ourſelves. The governor of the caſtle was a noted wine-bibber; and plied us ſtoutly with that liquor; he wanted a chaplain for himſelf and ſoldiers, and greatly importuned me to ſupply that place, but matters of more importance called me away; and ſo I took my leave of him, and he preſented me with ſome freſh meat, fiſh, and conſerves: We then went out to ſea, and kept rowing along-ſhore towards *Porto-Bello*, until the evening, when we anchored behind a little Iſland, deſigning to enter the haven the next morning. The Blackmoors kept watch for fear of the *Hollanders*, who, they ſaid, often lay in wait thereabouts to take the boats that came from the river *Chagre*; but we paſſed the night in ſafety, and in the morning got to *Porto-Bello*, which haven we obſerved to be very ſtrong, with two caſtles at the mouth and another further up in the port.

I could not help being uneaſy when I found the Galeons were not come from *Spain*, knowing it was an extravagantly dear place. My firſt thought was to provide myſelf a lodging, which at this time were plentiful and cheap; nay ſome were offer'd me gratis, with this proviſoe, that when the Galeons came, I muſt either leave them, or pay a dear rate for them. However, a kind gentleman, who was the king's treaſurer, falling in diſcourſe with me, promiſed that I ſhould be cheaply lodged,

lodged even when the ships came, and lodgings were at the highest rate. Accordingly, making use of his authority, he went to seek one, which might be mine during the stay of the fleet, it was no larger than to contain a bed, a table, and a stool or two, and then scarce room to open and shut the door; and they demanded of me for the use of it about a fortnight, six score crowns. For the town being small, and the soldiers who came with the Galeons for their defence, at least four or five thousand, besides merchants from *Peru*, from *Spain*, and many other places, to buy and sell, every little hole is filled, and fetches an incredible price for its rent, during the time of the fair. I knew a merchant who gave a thousand crowns for a small shop to sell his merchandize in, the same year that I was there, and that only for fifteen days, while the fleet continued in that haven. I thought it a great hardship to give six score crowns for a place which, for comparison, was but a mouse hole, and told the king's treasurer I had been lately robbed at sea, and could not possibly comply with it; but the man of the house would not abate one farthing; whereupon the good treasurer, pitying my condition, offered to pay the landlord three score crowns of it, if I could pay the rest, which I was forced to do, or lie with all my effects in the street. Nevertheless I would not go into my hole until the fleet came, but accepted of another fair lodging, which was offer'd me for nothing. Whilst I was waiting for the arrival of the Galeons, I pick'd up a little money by masses and offerings; and for two sermons which I preached, I received fifteen crowns for each. What surprised me the most, was, to see the gangs of mules which came to this town laden with silver from *Panama*, in wedges, in one day I counted 200, which had nothing else; they were unladen in the publick market place, and there laid in heaps, like stones in the street, without any suspicion of being lost.

In about ten days the fleet came, which consisted of eight Galeons and ten merchant ships, and I was then obliged to take to my hole. It was wonderful to behold the multitude of people in the streets, which the week before were empty. Then began the price of all sorts of provisions to rise immediately: A fowl was sold for 12 rials, which before I had bought for one; a pound of beef for two rials, when I had before bought thirteen pounds for half a rial, and so of all other provisions; which were so excessive dear, that I took to living upon fish and tortoises, which, being very plenty, were the cheapest meat I could eat. Here was the greatest bustle I ever saw in all my life before or since; merchants all selling by wholesale, and not receiving coin'd money, but wedges of silver by weight, which were brought down by the inland merchants from *Peru*, *Panama*, and other places, to buy goods to supply the vast continent of *South-America*; the shipping in the mean time loading chiefly with wedges of silver; so that I dare boldly avouch, that there is not so great a fair in the whole world as this of *Porto-Bello*.

A very singular affair happened unto me in the town of *Porto-Bello*, which I am desirous of publishing to all the world: As I was one day saying mass in the chief church, after the consecration of the bread, having my eyes shut, and rehearsing that prayer which the church of *Rome* calls

calls the *Memento* for the dead, there came from behind the altar a mouſe, which, running about, came at laſt at the very conſecrated bread, or wafer God of the papiſts, and taking it in his mouth, ran away with it, unperceived by any of the people who were at maſs, becauſe the altar was high and the people all kneeling below. As ſoon as I open'd my eyes, I miſs'd the bread God, and looking about, ſaw the mouſe running away with it. I was at my wit's end, not knowing what to do; I thought if I took no notice of it, and any one elſe ſhould obſerve it; I might be juſtly cenſured by the inquiſition for my careleſſneſs; I therefore called the people to the altar, and plainly told them, that whilſt I was in my *Memento* prayers and meditations, a mouſe had carried away the ſacrament, and that I knew not what to do, unleſs they would help me to find it again: They called a prieſt who was near at hand, and he preſently brought in more of his profeſſion, who with lighted candles ſearched about the altar for the ſacraligious thief, which had run away with their God; and after much enquiry, they found in a hole in the wall the ſacrament half eat up, which with great joy they took out; and as the *Iſraelites* rejoiced when the ark was brought again from the *Philiſtines*, ſo they rejoiced for their new-found God: Many people now reſorted to the church, and with ſeveral lighted candles and torches, a ſolemn proceſſion, accompany'd with muſick, was made of the half-mangled ſacrament round the church. I continued all this time upon my knees, fearfully expecting what judgment would be paſſed upon me; and as the ſacrament paſſed by me, I obſerved in it the mark of the teeth of the mouſe. This ſtruck me with horror: I called all my philoſophy to my aſſiſtance, and was fully convinced, that what I ſaw was a real ſubſtance actually gnaw'd and eaten by that vermine; for if the mouſe had not fed upon ſubſtance, how could the marks of its teeth ſo plainly appear? But no Roman Catholick will readily allow, that it fed upon the ſubſtance of Chriſt's body; therefore, by a plain conſequence it follows, that it fed upon the ſubſtance of bread: And therefore, to my full ſatisfaction, *Tranſubſtantiation* was here confuted by a mouſe; which mean and baſe creature, God choſe to convince me of my former doubts and errors; and that the *Tranſubſtantiation* taught by the church of *Rome*, is a falſe and monſtrous doctrine. Theſe impreſſions at that time, were ſo ſtrong upon me, that I firmly reſolved within myſelf, that it was actually bread that was eaten in the ſacrament, after conſecration, and that the glorious body of Chriſt, which is in Heaven, cannot be upon earth, ſubject to the hunger and violence of a creature. Here I reſolved, that if I had been queſtioned for my careleſſneſs, or for my contempt of that *Romiſh* ſacrament (which might perhaps, be the judgment of the *Spaniards*, who knew me to be an *Engliſhman*) that I would ſacrifice willingly my life for the Proteſtant truth; and it was ſome comfort to my afflicted ſoul, that this diſcovery fully ſatisfied me, that thoſe who had exploded the errors of the church of *Rome*, and brought about the glorious reformation, were it in the right way to ſalvation: And therefore I reſolved to bear with patience whatſoever croſſes might befal me in my way to *England*. However, the event of this accident did not produce any trouble to me; for the *Spaniards* attributed it to the careleſſneſs of the perſon who had the care of the altars, and not to any contempt in me to the ſacrament. The part of the wafer, which was left after the mouſe had filled her belly, was laid up in a tabernacle for that purpoſe: And becauſe ſuch a high contempt had been offered to their bread God by that little vermine, it was proclaimed through the ſtreets of *Porto-Bello*, that all the people ſhould humble themſelves, and faſt with bread and water only. And I thought it proper to keep my lodgings for a day or two, until the combuſtion was a little over.

This place is very unhealthy during the time of the fair, and the year that I was there, above 500 merchants, mariners, and ſoldiers, died of the flux, and other diſorders; and they told me the fevers and fluxes carry off hundreds every year during the time of the fair, being in a very hot ſeaſon:

Therefore, for the accommodation of ſuch perſons as ſhall be taken ſick at ſuch times, there is a fine large hoſpital built in the town, called, *De Juan de Dios*, where many friars attend the ſick, and take care of the burial of the dead. Don *Carlos de Ybarra*, admiral of the fleet, fearing the great ſickneſs which happened this year, made haſte to be gone, notwithſtanding he was informed there were four or five *Engliſh* and *Dutch* men of war waiting at ſea to pick up ſome good prizes out of this great and rich fleet. I began to tremble, having been ſo lately ſtript, and thought of ſecuring myſelf in one of the beſt and ſtrongeſt galeons; but when I came to treat for paſſage in one of them, they would not carry me under 300 crowns, which was a great deal more than I could afford to give: I therefore was about addreſſing myſelf to ſome maſter of a merchant ſhip to agree for my paſſage, when meeting with my old friend the treaſurer, and making my caſe known to him, he again pity'd my calamities, and recommended me to the maſter of a merchant ſhip, called the *St. Sebaſtian*. I no ſooner addreſs'd myſelf to him in my friend's name, but I preſently found him willing to accept of my company, promiſing to carry me for nothing, and to board me at his own table, only for my ſervice as a Chaplain; and further promiſed to make me ſatisfaction for every ſermon I preached, beſides my ſaying prayers and maſs. All things being in readineſs, we ſet ſail for *Carthagena*; and the ſecond day we diſcover'd four ſail of ſhips, which cauſed the merchantmen to keep cloſe to the galeons, truſting more to their ſtrength than their own: Our ſhip being a prime ſailer, always kept herſelf ſafe under the wings of the admiral; but the *Hollanders* found opportunity to carry off two ſhips in the night before we got to *Carthagena*. I obſerved the *Spaniards* ſeemed to be in great fear of the *Engliſh*, when we came near the iſland of *Providence*, called by them *Santa Catarina*, ſaying, the iſland was a den of *Engliſh* thieves, which always annoyed their veſſels coming from *Granada* and *Porto-Bello* to *Carthagena*. However, we ſailed by without any diſturbance, and got ſafe into the port of *Carthagena*, being ſtill followed by the four *Dutchmen*, as far as they durſt for fear of the cannon of the caſtle; but they took no more of our ſhips than the two aforementioned.

We ſtaid at *Carthagena* about eight or ten days, during which time I went aſhore, and found ſome of my countrymen priſoners there, who had been taken at ſea by the *Spaniards*: There were about a dozen of them, and I was glad to ſee them, but durſt not ſhew them too much countenance for fear of being ſuſpected; yet I ſoon got acquainted with ſome of them, who, being ordered for old *Spain*, were very deſirous of going in the ſhip with me; upon which I intreated the captain to carry four of them, which he readily condeſcended to. Amongſt thoſe was one *Edward Layfield*, a man of good capacity and underſtanding, with whom I had much diſcourſe concerning points of religion, and by whom I was informed of ſome tenets profeſſed by proteſtants in *England*, which my conſcience, (whilſt in *America*) much inclined to. I was very fond of his company, and found him of much ſervice to me. I therefore often requited his kindneſs, by ſpeaking in his favour to the maſter and ſailors, who were too forward in abuſing him and the other priſoners, treating them like ſlaves. At *Carthagena* we were informed, that ſixty ſail of *Hollanders* were waiting for the galeons, which ſtruck no little dread into the *Spaniards*; and a council was called, whether the fleet ſhould winter there, or go to *Spain*; but at laſt it was diſcovered to be a falſe alarm, raiſed by the *Carthaginians*, who for their own profit wanted the fleet to ſtay there all winter. The admiral Don *Carlos* ſaid, he did not fear a hundred ſail of *Hollanders*, and therefore he would go on for *Spain*, hoping to carry the king's treaſure ſafely thither.

We ſailed therefore from *Carthagena* and arrived at the *Havanna* in eight days, where we ſtaid eight days more, waiting for the fleet from *Vera Cruz*. In this time I took a view of the place, more eſpecially of that ſtrong caſtle mounted with twelve guns, called the *Twelve Apoſtles*, and obſerved, it could do little damage to an army by land, marching from the river *Matanſos*.

I

I alſo viſited the mother of the mulatto captain, who had plundered me at ſea; and ſhe treated me very kindly, but much lamented the loſs of her ſon, who had abandoned his country. I ſpent much of my time in viſiting my poor countrymen the priſoners; but eſpecially one capt. *Rouſe*, a gallant commander, who complained to me of ſome ill uſage he had received in the veſſel he came in: This daſtardly behaviour towards a priſoner our brave *Engliſhman* could not put up with; and he therefore unwiſely challenged any one of theſe abuſive cowards to meet him in the fields of the *Havanna*, and end the difference by the ſword; which mr. *Layfield* informed me of; and it gave me great concern; for fear many of them would fall upon him at once and baſely murder him, being well acquainted with the vile and blood-thirſty diſpoſitions of the *Spaniards*. I therefore ſent for capt. *Rouſe* to the cloiſter where I lodged, and prevailed upon him by my arguments to deſiſt from ſuch a dangerous enterpriſe. The reſt of my poor countrymen were now in great diſtreſs and want, whom I relieved to the beſt of my ability.

The merchant goods and the king's revenue being ſhipped, and all things in readineſs for our departure for *Spain*, we waited for nothing but the fleet from *Vera Cruz*, which ſhould have met us here on the 8th of *September*. But the admiral finding it ſtaid longer than the time appointed, and fearing the weather and the new moon of that month, which commonly proves dangerous in the gulph of *Bahama*, reſolved to ſtay no longer: and therefore, on ſabbath-day morning we ſailed out of the harbour of *Havanna*, (being in all 27 ſhips, with thoſe that met us there from *Honduras*, and the Iſlands) and when we got into the main ſea, we wafted about, waiting for the pilot who was to ſteer us through the gulph of *Bahama*. But that night we wiſh'd ourſelves again in the harbour, imagining we were encompaſſed by a ſtrong fleet of *Dutch* men of war; for we could plainly perceive many large ſtrange ſhips near us. Upon which a council of war was called, and all preparations made for an engagement the next morning; and orders were ſent to the merchantmen where to ſtation themſelves: Our ſhip was ordered to attend the admiral, which I was glad of, thinking that the ſafeſt place: Our men all ſeemed couragious, and ready to engage; but for my own part, I liked not ſuch martial diſpoſitions; however, our captain took care of a place of ſafety for me, and ſtowed me amongſt ſome caſks in the bed-room: And all the night I had enough to do in hearing the ſailors confeſſions, who ſaid they would not engage heartily or die contentedly, until they had obtain'd abſolution: So that towards morning, I had more need of ſleep than fighting, grievouſly tired with hearing ſo many horrid abominable ſins. But the morning approaching, ſoon diſcovered our fear to be without cauſe; and that it proceeded from our friends and not our enemies; for the ſhips which fell in with us in the night, were the fleet that we expected from *Vera Cruz*; and had been in the ſame pannick, having made all things ready for an engagement in the morning, little expecting to find us out of the *Havanna*, but riding ſafe in the harbour; they conſiſted of 22 ſail; and when we ſaw their colours flying, our doubts and fears ſoon ſubſided, our martial preparations ceaſed, and nothing was heard from ſhip to ſhip, but ſounding of trumpets, and joyful acclamations and ſalutations. But amidſt all our rejoicings, being in all 52 ſail (yet we not knowing how many ſhips they had with them from *Vera Cruz*, nor they how many we brought out of the *Havanna*) two ſtragglers got in amongſt us unknown; but our priſoners told me they took one of them to be an *Engliſh* man of war called the *Neptune*: Theſe two ſhips having got the wind of us, ſingled a ſhip out of the fleet, and giving her a whole broad-ſide, ſhe preſently ſtruck, and they carried her off, without the leaſt danger of relief from ſo great and mighty a fleet; ſhe having ſtraggled too far from the reſt of the ſhips. This veſſel belonged to *Dunkirk*, and had been forced into the king's ſervice in that voyage to the *Indies*; ſhe was laden with ſugars, and other rich commodities, and eſteemed

worth

worth eighty thouſand crowns. This whole affair did not laſt half an hour, and ſhe was carried away under our very noſes; the *Spaniards* raving and ſwearing, and ſome of them curſing the captain, ſaying, he had ſtruck out of revenge, becauſe he had been forced into the king's ſervice. Orders were immediately given for the vice-admiral and two more of the galeons to purſue them; but all in vain, the wind was againſt them, and they could make no hand of it. It was with great difficulty I reſtrained the *Spaniards* from reeking their revenge upon the *Engliſh* Priſoners, who could not forbear ſmiling at this agreeable ſcene to them.

That afternoon the fleet from *Vera Cruz* took their leave of us, and went into the *Havanna*, not being furniſhed with proviſions to go on to *Spain*; and we ſailed for *Europe*, fearing nothing at preſent but the gulph of *Bahama*, through which we got ſafely, by the aſſiſtance of ſuch ſkilful pilots as our admiral had choſen, and hired for that purpoſe. But notwithſtanding all their ſkill, we were very near being caſt away one night upon the rocks of *Bermudas*, had not the breaking of the day fortunately given us timely notice to avoid them. For which the *Spaniards*, inſtead of giving thanks to Heaven, began to curſe the *Engliſh*, who inhabited that iſland, ſaying, they dealt with the devil, and always raiſed ſtorms in thoſe ſeas when the *Spaniſh* fleet paſſed that way. From hence we ſailed on ſucceſsfully until we made the Weſtern Iſlands, where we were very deſirous of taking in freſh water, that we had taken in at the *Havanna* beginning to ſtink and turn yellow; but the rigid admiral would not permit it; though he afterwards repented of his raſhneſs, and wiſhed he had been in one of thoſe harbours; for the night following a moſt dreadful ſtorm aroſe, which continued for eight days, wherein one ſhip was loſt, and two of the galeons were in great danger; and the whole fleet were obliged to wait for them till they had repaired their damages. After this ſtorm was over, we had a favourable wind to *Spain*, when we firſt diſcover'd *Cadiz*; and here ſome of the fleet left us; but moſt of them, and amongſt the reſt the ſhip I was in, went for *San Lucar*. *November* 28, 1737, we came to an anchor there about one of the clock in the afternoon: And before night I went on ſhore, with the other paſſengers: I firſt intended to have gone immediately to the cloiſter of *St. Dominick*, where my old friar *Pablo de Londres*, was yet living, who I knew would be over-joyed to ſee me: However, I thought fit the firſt night to enjoy my friends, both *Spaniards* and *Engliſh*, who had come ſo long a voyage with me; and I could paſs that night more agreeably in ſome ordinary than in a cloiſter, where I expected but a poor friar's ſupper, a hard and mean lodging, with the noiſe and rattling of bells at midnight, to call the drowſy friars to their matins, which would much diſturb my reſt; beſides a thouſand trifling queſtions which would be aſked me by old *Londres* concerning the *Indians*, where I had reſided ſo many years. That night therefore I betook myſelf to an *Engliſh* ordinary, where I refreſhed myſelf and my poor priſoners, to whoſe care they were for that night committed by the maſter of the ſhip, upon my word, to ſee them forth-coming when called for. The next morning I ſent my honeſt friend *Layfield* to the cloiſter with a letter to old *Pablo de Londres*, who on the firſt notice, came to welcome me home from the *Indies*; and after very little diſcourſe, he acquainted me, that there were ſhips in the harbour ready to ſail for *England*. The old friar being of a decripit and doting age, thought every day a year that I ſtaid there, and (not knowing the ſecrets of my heart) already judged, that the converſion, or turning many proteſtant ſouls to popery, waited my coming. I was more deſirous to be gone than he could wiſh me, to my native country, from whence I had been abſent almoſt 24 years. My firſt thought after my arrival was, to caſt off my friar's weed, and to put on ſuch apparel, whereby I might no more appear a wolf in ſheep's cloathing, but might go boldly to my own country, to ſhew and make known the candour of my heart, and the purity and ſincerity of my thoughts. With the ſmall means therefore left me after almoſt a whole year's

journey

journey from *Petapa* to *San Lucar* (having yet about a hundred crowns left I bought me a ſuit of cloaths of an *Engliſh* taylor, and prepared to depart for *England*.

CHAP. XVI.

The author's arrival in England, *with the reception he met with there by his friends and relations: His journey to* Rome, *and many other parts of* Europe: *His return to* England: *His renouncing the errors of the church of* Rome, *and embracing the proteſtant religion; with the precautions he met with thereupon. The concluſion.*

THREE or four ſhips were ready to ſail for *England*, and I was in doubt which to chuſe; I had thoughts of going in the firſt, in which my friend *Layfield* embarked, and all the *Engliſh* priſoners, who, when they arrived in *Spain*, were ſet at liberty, and permitted to return home. But the providence of God diverted my intentions of going on board this veſſel; or otherwiſe I had been a ſlave in *Turkey*; for the next day after that ſhip ſet out, ſhe was taken by the *Turks*, and carried away with all the *Engliſh* priſoners in her to *Algiers*.

The tenth day after my arrival at *San Lucar*, I embarked on board a ſhip belonging to Sir *William Curtin*, commanded by an honeſt *Fleming*, named *Adrian Adrianſen*, who lived at *Dover*; with whom I agreed for my paſſage and diet at his own table. We were favoured with ſo proſperous a wind, that we arrived at *Dover* in thirteen days, where I landed amongſt ſome other paſſengers, and the ſhip proceeded on for the *Downs*; from *Dover* I took poſt with ſome *Spaniards* and an *Iriſh* colonel to *Graveſend*, from whence we took boat to *London*. And here I was put to ſome difficulty for want of my mother tongue; for I could only ſpeak a few broken words, which occaſioned me to fear that I ſhould not be taken for an *Engliſhman* born. Yet I thought my kindred, (who knew I had been many years loſt) would by ſome means or other acknowledge me, and take notice of me, if I at firſt addreſſed myſelf to them. The firſt therefore of my name whom I got intelligence of was, my lady *Penelope Gage*, widow of Sir *John Gage*, then living in *St. James*'s, to whom, the next morning after my arrival in *London*, I addreſſed myſelf in order to diſcover my nearer relations. When I came to my lady *Gage*, after a ſhort conference, ſhe acknowledged me to be her kinſman; and ſmiling told me, I talked more like a *Welchman* than an *Engliſhman*. However, ſhe entertained me very kindly, and ſent a ſervant with me to one of my brothers in *Long-Acre*, who happened to be at that time in the county of *Surry*; but hearing of my arrival in *London*, he ſent a horſe and man to wait upon me to an uncle's, who lived at *Gayton*, who received me very lovingly, as a loſt and forgotten nephew, with whom I kept my *Chriſtmas*; I was then ſent for to mr. *Froman*'s of *Cheam*, another relation, with whom I continued until twelfth day, and then returned to *London* with my brother. I now began to expoſtulate with my younger brother (knowing he had been preſent at my father's death, and had been a principal manager in the ordering and executing his laſt will and teſtament) concerning what child's part was left unto me. To which he made anſwer, that my father indeed left him, and my brother the colonel, and two other ſons by a ſecond wife, and my own ſiſter, every one ſomething; but to me nothing, nay, that at his death he did not ſo much as remember me; which troubled me very much, and put me in mind of the angry threatning letter which I had received from him in *Spain* before my voyage to *America*, becauſe I refuſed to become a jeſuit. I made little reply to my brother at that time: But afterwards upon many occaſions, I told him I would have the will produced, and would by a courſe of law endeavour to procure a child's part. And he as often aſſured me, that I ſhould never want for any thing I could deſire whilſt I continued in *England*. After I had been a ſhort time in *London*, my kinſman at *Cheam* earneſtly importuned me to live with him.

him. I had not been there many weeks, before my uncle invited me to his houſe at *Gayton*, offering me my board gratis, a horſe and man to wait upon me, and twenty or thirty pounds a year for pocket money. Here I continued a twelvemonth, refining myſelf in my native language, and (though altogether unknown to my uncle and relations) ſearching into the doctrine and truth of the proteſtant religion as profeſſed in *England*: For which cauſe I made many journies to *London*, where I privately reſorted to ſome churches, eſpecially to *St. Paul's*, to hear divine ſervice and the word of God preached; but took all poſſible care not to be ſeen or known by any papiſt. By my frequent coming to *London*, I fell into converſation with *Dade*, *Popham*, *Crafts*, *Connel*, and *Brown*, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Dominican friars; I found both their diſcourſe and actions baſe, lewd, light, and wanton, like the *Spaniſh* and *Indian* friars; which made me again reflect upon the popiſh church, upheld by ſuch pillars. My brother was in ſuch favour at the court, that he was ſent over by the queen with a rich preſent to a popiſh idol, named our lady of *Sichem* in the *Low Countries*. He told me he doubted not but in a ſhort time he ſhould be made a biſhop in *England*, being a roman catholick prieſt; and that I ſhould live with him until he could procure me ſome preferment, which he aſſured me would not be long. By this diſcourſe I perceived this no ſeaſonable time for me to diſcover my ſecret intention and purpoſe of heart.

One time coming from *Surry* to *London*, I happened to be diſcovered and known to one *Gray*, an officer of ſtate, who had a large commiſſion for apprehending ſeminary prieſts and jeſuits: He afterwards met me in *Long-Acre*, and followed me as far as *Lincoln's-Inn* wall, where he clapped me on the ſhoulder, and ſaid, he had a commiſſion to carry me to the council-table, or before one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate. I ſpoke to him in *Spaniſh*, thinking thereby to diſengage myſelf: But he told me plainly the ſham ſhould not take, that he knew me to be an *Engliſhman* born, that my name was *Gage*, that I was brother to col. *Gage* and to mr. *George Gage*, and that before he parted from me, I muſt talk *Engliſh* to him. He then carried me to a tavern, where he began to rifle my pockets for papers: He afterwards told me I muſt go before one of his majeſty's ſecretaries. I replied I was willing to go before the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* or Sir *Francis Windebank*. He ſmiled, ſaying I knew well enough whom to chuſe to examine me, that I might be favoured and protected; but he would carry me before neither of them, but before mr. ſecretary *Cooke*. Fearing from his expreſſions that it might go hard with me, and perceiving him to be greedy of money, I offered him twelve ſhillings, being all the caſh I had then about me, and gave him my word to meet him the next day at any place he would appoint, with a fuller purſe: He accepted of my money for the preſent; and appointed me to meet him the day following at the angel tavern in *Long-Acre*; and for that time diſmiſſed me. Being thus freed from him, I went immediately to my brother *George*, and acquainted him with what had happened to me, the money I had given *Gray*, and what I had further promiſed him. My brother flew immediately into a violent paſſion, called *Gray* a knave and a rogue, that he could not anſwer what he had done, and that he would have his commiſſion taken from him. He then rebuked me for giving him money, calling me a novice and unexperienced in the affairs of *England*. I anſwered my brother, that the man had permitted me to go at large upon my word of honour, and therefore I was reſolved to meet him and make him ſatisfaction according to my promiſe. To this my brother would by no means acquieſce, but ſaid he would meet him himſelf; which he accordingly did. and for my word's ſake gave him ſome money; yet nevertheleſs, he carried him before ſignor *Con*, the pope's nuncio, who grievouſly threatened him if ever he moleſted me again. My brother then went with me to Sir *Thomas Howard*, a roman-catholick knight, deſiring him to introduce me to Sir *Francis Windebank*, principal ſecretary of ſtate, which being performed, I related to Sir *Francis* the whole affair. The ſecretary underſtanding who I was, told me

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for the future to fear no officer whatſoever; that *Gray* was a fool; and that if he or any other perſon ſhould dare to ſtop me, to come immediately to him. Though I could not help being pleaſed to receive ſo much favour and protection, yet I could not help thinking it ſtrange, that an officer who was appointed to ſearch for and apprehend prieſts and jeſuits, and had a commiſſion in his pocket for that purpoſe, ſhould be thus ſnubb'd and abuſed for doing his duty. I was therefore much troubled in mind and conſcience, knowing that this conniving at prieſts and jeſuits could be of no uſe to me in publiſhing my deſign to alter my religion.

I reſolved therefore once more to leave *England*, and to travel into ſeveral countries in *Europe*, both amongſt papiſts and proteſtants, to try if I could meet with any better ſatisfaction at *Rome* in that religion, or in *France* and *Germany* amongſt the reformed proteſtants; for at this time, all was confuſion in *England* between the king and his parliament; and malicious feuds and party animoſities ran ſo high, that an impartial man could not form any ſatisfactory judgment which was in the right. I wrote therefore to the general of the *Dominicans* at *Rome*, (without whoſe licence I could not go thither) deſiring he would be pleaſed to ſend me his letters patent to come to that city, to confer with him upon ſome points of religion, which he readily ſent to me. My uncle recommended to my care ſome buſineſs of his own, which he had to tranſact there, and furniſhed me with money ſufficient for ſo long a journey: But my chief dependance was upon my brother, col. *Gage*, then in the *Low Countries*, whom I did not know, nor had ever ſeen from a child.

I had no other paſs to take ſhipping at *Dover*, except a letter from one *Popham*, a *Dominican* friar in *London*, to Sir *John Manwood*, governor of *Dover* caſtle, by the intereſt of which letter I was ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted, without being examined or ſearched; and with a good wind we arrived at *Dunkirk* in four hours: And from thence by *Newport* and *Bruges* I went to *Ghent*; not far from whence my brother lay in field with his regiment againſt the *Hollanders*. He rejoiced to ſee me, and being acquainted with my journey to *Rome*, he furniſhed me with more mony, and when I had informed him of the buſineſs I was to tranſact for my uncle at *Rome*, he recommended me to the marquiſs *de Seralvo* (then at *Bruſſels*) and other great men, deſiring them to give me letters of recommendation to their friends at *Rome*; by which means I obtained one to Don *Franciſco Barbarine*, the pope's nephew, and one of the chief cardinals then in *Rome*, and others to cardinal *Cucua* and cardinal *Albornos*, both *Spaniards*. By reaſon of the war between *France* and the *Low Countries*, I durſt not make my journey the neareſt way through *France*, but took the ſafeſt way through *Germany*; beſides I was deſirous of examining and informing myſelf of the tenets of the proteſtant *Lutheran* church in that country. I paſſed through *Bruſſels*, *Namur*, *Liege*, and *Cologn*; from which laſt place I ſailed down the *Rhine* to *Franckfort*, arriving there in the month of *September*, at the time of the great fair; from whence I was certain of meeting with merchants travelling to all parts of *Italy*. In *Franckfort* I frequented the *Lutheran* church; and during my fortnight's ſtay in that city, I had often thoughts of declaring myſelf of that religion, and diſclaiming the church of *Rome*, thinking that there I might be ſecure and ſafe, and lie concealed from my brothers and relations, who in *England* would not ſuffer me to live a proteſtant: But I again concluded how hard it would be for me a ſtranger to ſubſiſt there, and to get a livelihood. Wherefore, at the end of the fair, I ſet out in company with ſeveral merchants for *Italy*; and having paſſed through many famous and ſtately cities, I arrived at *Rome*; where I delivered my letters to the cardinals; of whom the two *Spaniards* I found proud and ſtately; but Don *Franciſco Barbarini*, (who was intituled the protector of *England*) was of a more gentle nature, kind and loving. I perceived by his diſcourſe, that he knew much of *England*, and deſired to know more, propounding to me many queſtions concerning the ſtate of the kingdom,

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and more especially concerning Dr. *Laud*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he seemed to affect very much. He told me he thought the creating an *English* cardinal at *Rome* might be of great consequence towards converting the whole kingdom. There was great struggling at *Rome* for this cardinal's cap between Sir *William Hamilton*, then agent for the queen, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Sir *Toby Mathy*, and Sir *Walter Montague*. And thus it was credibly reported in *Rome*, that either a *Hamilton*, a *Digby*, a *Mathy*, or a *Montague*, would be made an *English* cardinal that year, whereby I perceived that *England* was coming near to *Rome* as to her religion; and that my professing and following the truth in my native country was blasted, and that in vain I had come from *America* for satisfaction of my conscience in *England*. I found such exorbitancies and debaucheries in the lives of some of the cardinals themselves, whilst I was in *Rome*, who at midnight have been taken in uncivil houses, and got clear by bribing the officers of justice, that I plainly saw their religion was much the same as in *America*, among the *Spaniards*, a system of wickedness, wantoness, lewdness, and immorality. Whereupon I resolved, if I could not live in *England* amongst my relations, I would endeavour to settle in *France*, and associate myself unto the best reformed protestant church I could find there. Accordingly I got an order from the general of *Dominicans* to live in the cloister of *Orleans*, from whence I might embrace the first favourable opportunity of putting my intentions in practice.

Yet after I had got this order, resolving to leave no point unessaied, that might give me satisfaction in the *Romish* religion, I purposed to try what a miracle might do; and hearing much of a picture of our lady of *Loretto*, and that she performed miracles; amongst the rest, that whoever prayed before her in the state of mortal sin, would cause her to blush and sweat; I concluded, that if the doctrine of transubstantiation and other tenets taught by the church of *Rome*, were true, certainly the picture would blush and sweat, when such an unbeliever knelt before her as myself. To make this trial, I went purposely to *Loretto*, and kneeling before God, not with any faith I had in the picture, I prayed earnestly to the true searcher of all hearts that he would inspire and enlighten me with his spirit of truth for the good and salvation of my soul. In my prayer I had a fixed and settled eye upon the lady's picture, but could perceive it neither to sweat nor blush; upon which I arose from my knees, much comforted, and encouraged in my resolution to renounce and abandon popery.

Whilst I was thus pursuing my resolution of going to the cloister of *Orleans*, a favourable crisis happened in *England*, by a new parliament being chose, and an army raised in *Scotland* for reformation; at which I saw the papists and jesuits began to tremble, saying it would blast all their designs of establishing popery there, and the *English* cardinal's cap was no more spoken of. I was so elated with this joyful news, that I resolved to put off my journey to *France*, and return to *England*. When I arrived there, I found the acceptable time was come for me, wherein I ought not to dissemble any longer with God and the world: And accordingly I made my intentions known to Dr. *Brunrick* bishop of *Exeter*, and next to Mr. *Shute* of *Lombard-Street*, from whom I received great encouragement. The bishop of *Exeter* carried me to the bishop of *London*, then at *Fulham*; from whom I received orders to preach my recantation sermon at *St. Paul*'s, which command I obeyed, and am now become a new plant of the church of *England*: by which means I am forsaken by all my relations and friends: But in a little time I had a benefice bestowed upon me, whereby I am enabled to live comfortably.

And thus, my good reader, through many perils and dangers by sea and land, I am at last settled in my native country, my doubts and scruples all removed, and my conscience fully convinced, that the doctrine I have now embraced, is pure, holy, and undefiled, as revealed to us by God himself: To whom be glory for ever. Amen.

The END.

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